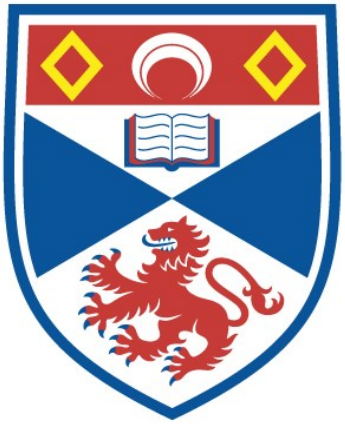
CHARISMATA TO 320 A. D. : A STUDY OF THE OVERT PNEUMATIC EXPERIENCE OF THE EARLY CHURCH

Ronald Alfred Narfi Kydd

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1973

CHARISMATA TO 320 A.D.

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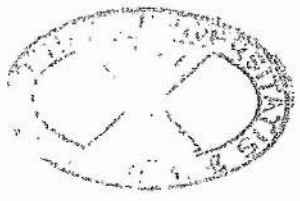
A Thesis Presented to the Senatus Academicus of the University of St. Andrews

In

Application for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



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Declaration

I hereby declare that the following thesis is based upon the result of research carried out by me, that it is of my own composition, and that it has not been presented previously for a higher degree.

The research was carried out in St. Mary's College of the University of St. Andrews under the direction of professors J.H. Baxter and R. McL. Wilson.

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Certificate

I certify that Ronald Kydd has fulfilled the requirements of Ordinance No. 16(St. Andrews) and is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for the degree of Ph.D. of the University of St. Andrews.

Curriculum Vitae

1964 - Certificate of Graduation,
Central Pentecostal College

1967 - B.A.,
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October, 1969 - Transferred to Ph.D. Ordinance at the University of St. Andrews.

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Preface

The roots of this study are found in my own experience of the charismata. Shortly after being introduced to charismatic worship, I began to ask questions about the place the charismata occupied in the Early church during the sub-Apostolic period and after. I soon discovered that there were few solid answers to my questions. It was this personal interest, and in addition the awareness of the contemporary interest in charismatic experience, which led to the research I undertook.

Before I began my investigation, I realized that my beliefs could be both a help and a hindrance. On one hand, they could make me more sympathetic to charismatics of the past and thus help me to detect traces of charismatic activity which other scholars may have missed. On the other hand, they could lead me to interpret phenomena as manifestations of the charismata when they really were not.

Throughout the whole process of research and writing, I have made every attempt not to allow my beliefs to cause me to lose sight of my responsibility to strive for scholarly objectivity: of course I would

be foolhardy to claim that I have been entirely successful. If my presuppositions show through too clearly, it will probably happen in Division I where I am dealing with NT material.

I am very thankful to the people who have helped me in various ways. I began research under Professor J.H. Baxter, who guided me in the early stages and saved me from some mistakes. Dr. E. Best and Professor T.E. Pollard kindly read and criticized some of my work. When Professor Baxter retired, Professor R.McL. Wilson consented to take over the supervision of my program. He has taken his responsibility very seriously, providing perceptive criticism and making himself available for consultation. His efforts have been helpful and stimulating.

I would also like to thank my mother, Mrs. Charles M. Kydd, for having typed most of the final draft of my thesis.

Finally, I extend thanks to my wife, Roseanne, without whose patience and encouragement this work could never have been completed.

List of Abbreviations

ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers
ANL	Ante-Nicene Christian Library
Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich	W. Bauer. A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament. Translated and adapted by W.F. Arndt and F.W. Gingrich. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957.
CCL	Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina.
CSCO	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
DAC	Dictionary of the Apostolic Church
ExpT	Expository Times
GCS	Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller
Hennecke	E. Hennecke: New Testament Apocrypha. Ed. W. Schneemelcher. ET Ed. R.McL. Wilson. London:Lutterworth Press. 1963(I), 1965(II)
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JR	Journal of Religion
JSSRel	Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MG	Migne, Patrologia Graeca
ML	Migne, Patrologia Latina
NCE	New Catholic Encyclopedia
NPNF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers
NTS	New Testament Studies
RHE	Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique
RTP	Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie
ScotJTh	Scottish Journal of Theology
SCH	Sources Chrétiennes
VigChr	Vigiliae Christianae
ZKG	Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte
ZNW	Zeitschrift f. Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

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DECLINE IN IMPORTANCE

OF THE CHARISMATA

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The research lying behind the work the reader has in hand was governed by the desire to ascertain how, if at all, the charismata which were a part of the primitive NT Church appeared in the life of the pre-Nicene Church. The date 320 A.D. was accepted as the terminus ad quem of the research because the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.) serves as a watershed in the history of the Christian Church. Prior to the council of 325, Christian thought and practice were regulated only by rules of faith, by rules of conduct, and by interpretations of Scripture all of which had been developed in more or less limited geographical areas. At Nicaea, the Church strove to produce a creed which would be universally acceptable and which would make the life and thought of the Church at large more uniform. In view of this, it seemed legitimate to end the present investigation at 320 A.D., the period up to that date having a sufficiently unique character to merit concentration upon it.

It will be noted that in the paragraph above a distinction is drawn between the 'primitive NT Church'

and the 'pre-Nicene Church'. This distinction is artificial in a sense because within the development of the Christian Church there is no ascertainable date at which one can say, "Here the NT Church has ended and the pre-Nicene Church has begun." The distinction which has been proposed stems from a literary classification of the sources from which material for an historical examination of the Church is drawn. The distinguishing factor according to this classification is the relation in which a particular document stands to the NT Canon. On one hand, if one is gathering information from literature which is found in the New Testament, then one is studying the NT Church. On the other hand, if one is examining writings which are not found in the NT, but which were produced by the Christian Church before 320 A.D.,[1] then he is concerning himself with the pre-Nicene Church. In other words, whether one is studying the NT Church or the pre-Nicene Church depends upon whether or not the early Christian literature which

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[1]See p. 10 below

he is handling is found in the NT Canon.

The distinction is also temporal to some extent: most of the sources for a history of the NT Church (i.e., the Canonical material) are earlier than most of the sources for a history of the pre-Nicene Church (i.e., non-Canonical material). However, there is some overlapping: 1 Clement was written in the last decade of the first century,[1] and at least parts of the Didache may be earlier than that.[2]

Although the examination of the sources of the pre-Nicene Church is the central task of this investigation, the NT Church and the pre-Nicene Church are not regarded as being isolated from each other. On the contrary, it is the express purpose of this study to determine how a particular aspect of the NT Church's experience was carried over into the pre-Nicene Church. In other words, it is NT phenomena as they appear in the Church of the subsequent period that will be examined.

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[1]See p. 142 n.1 below.

[2]See pp. 110-130 below.

In particular, the NT phenomena which are the focal points of this study are the charismata. Because this word carries several different meanings in the NT,[1] it is necessary to state precisely in what sense it is being used here and elsewhere throughout this study.

First, the charismata will be regarded as one type of pneumatic activity, but this second expression itself requires defining. Here 'pneumatic activity' is thought to occur when the Holy Spirit is in the state of being active. However, because it is impossible to be completely certain that the Holy Spirit is active in any given situation, the proposed definition of 'pneumatic activity' must be qualified. Redefined, it will be regarded as either action which an observer attributes to the Holy Spirit or action which bears marked similarities to action which is attributed to the Holy Spirit. By limiting itself to action which is attributed to the Holy Spirit or which is very similar to such action, the study does not have to become involved in the question of how one dis-

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[1]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 887.

tinguishes between activity which is genuinely pneumatic and that which is not. However, this still does not bring us to a clear understanding of how 'charismata' is being used in this study.

Within the NT Church's experience, there were several different types of activity which were attributed to the Holy Spirit. For example, he was regarded as being responsible for the writing of Scripture,[1] as playing an essential part in the birth of Christ,[2] and as being active in the individual believer's life.[3] This study focuses upon yet another type: <u>overt</u> pneumatic activity; overt pneumatic activity being defined as action which is attributed to the Holy

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[1]Acts 1:16 - Brethren, the Scripture had to be fulfilled which the Holy Spirit foretold by the mouth of David concerning Judas, who became a guide to those who arrested Jesus. (See Ps. 69:25; Ps. 109:8).

[2]Mt. 1:18 - Now the birth of Jesus Christ was as follows. When His mother Mary had been betrothed to Joseph, before they came together she was found to be with child by the Holy Spirit.

[3]Rom. 8:26 - And in the same way the Spirit also helps our weaknesses; for we do not know how to pray as we should, but the Spirit Himself intercedes for us with groanings too deep for words.

Spirit, which is occasional, and which results in publicly observable action on the part of a man or men. By limiting itself to 'occasional' pneumatic activity, the study avoids discussing the Holy Spirit's continuous relationship to the Church. This type of pneumatic activity is called 'overt' because the behaviour of the human agent through whom the Spirit works is publicly observable. The Holy Spirit is presented as being involved in this kind of action most frequently in the NT within the books traditionally attributed to Luke and Paul. Examples are to be found in Acts 2:4,[1] in Acts 21:10 & 11,[2] and in Rom. 12:4-8 and 1 Cor. 12-14.

This study, then, will focus upon the charismata--occasional, publicly observable human action which

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[1]Acts 2:4 - And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit was giving them utterance.

[2]Acts 21:10 & 11 - And as we were staying there for some days, a certain prophet named Agabus came down from Judea. And coming to us he took Paul's belt and bound his own feet and hands, and said, "This is what the Holy Spirit says, 'In this way the Jews at Jerusalem will bind the man who owns this belt and deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles.'"

is attributed to the Holy Spirit or action which is very similar to it--which are to be seen in the NT Church. The attempt will be made to trace these phenomena through the life of the pre-Nicene Church noting where and when they appeared and how important they seem to have been.[1] Once conclusions have been drawn, an account will be offered for the development which is observed.

There is evidence that a study of this nature is timely. On one hand, there is considerable contemporary interest in charismatic worship which cuts across denominational lines. W.J. Hollenweger's book, Enthusiastisches Christentum[2] is composed of papers on the charismata written by clergymen representing several denominations. An article in the Saturday Evening Post, a secular periodical, refers to charismatic experience among Baptists, Dutch Reformed,

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[1]At appropriate places in the study, references will be made to similar religious phenomena in non-Christian circles of the time.

[2](Wuppertal and Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Rolf Brockhaus and Zwingli Verlag, 1969).

Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, and Congregationalists.[1] This kind of worship has been written about favourably by an Anglican clergyman in England[2] and an Episcopalian layman in the United States.[3] Its spread has been noted in a recent article by J.D.G. Dunn.[4] In early 1967, a 'pentecostal movement' appeared among Catholics in the United States.[5] Two years later there were an estimated 5,000 Catholics in the United States involved in charismatic worship.[6] When E.D. O'Connor was writing The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church in October, 1970, there were an

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[1] M. Philipps, 'And There Appeared to Them Tongues of Fire,' Saturday Evening Post (May 16, 1964) p. 32.

[2] M. Harper, As at the Beginning (Hodder and Stoughton, 1965).

[3] J.L. Sherrill, They Speak with Other Tongues (Spire Books, 1964).

[4] 'Spirit-Baptism and Pentecostalism,' ScotJTh 23, 4(1970)402ff.

[5] K. and D. Ranaghan, Catholic Pentecostals (New York, Paramus, Toronto: Paulist Press Deus Books, 1969), p. 20.

[6] Ranaghan, p. 50.

estimated 10,000 Catholics meeting in over 203 prayer groups which encouraged and enjoyed the manifestation of the Holy Spirit through the charismata.[1] O'Connor states that in addition to the U.S.A., there are also prayer groups in Canada, and then he goes on to say,

> There are also groups in England, in several Latin American countries, in Australia and New Zealand. Beginnings at least have been made in several countries of continental Europe and Africa.[2]

We see from this that charismatic worship is widely known among Catholics.

On the other hand, in spite of the fact that those involved in contemporary charismatic manifestations always look to the NT and the Early Church in an attempt to understand their experiences, there has been comparatively little serious attention given to the charismata in the Early Church. Even such important works as H.B. Swete's The Holy Spirit

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[1] E.D. O'Connor, The Pentecostal Movement in the Catholic Church (Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1971), p. 17.

[2] O'Connor, p. 18.

in the Ancient Church give only fleeting mention to these phenomena.[1] It is this situation, in addition to a personal interest on the part of the writer, which prompted this study.

Since the goal of the study was to give an accurate picture of the Church's charismatic experience during the pre-Nicene period, the sources used were all the documents produced by the Christian community until c. 320 A.D. This is a collection of materials which is very diverse in nature, including church manuals, martyr acts, and apocryphal documents in addition to the main body of Patristic literature. Due to this diversity of nature we shall have to postpone the attempt to evaluate the worth of the sources until we are dealing with each one individually.

The investigation proceeded along the following lines: first, the charismatic experience of the NT Church was studied in order to become as clear as possible about its nature and importance. Then, all Christian literature produced prior to 320 A.D. was

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[1](Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1966(1912)).

read in the attempt to determine what evidence there is for a continuation of the charismata in the life of the Church. Finally, the relevant secondary material was consulted, and, on the basis of this research, the argument of the thesis was developed.

The argument of the thesis is two-fold. First, it will be contended that the charismata were an important part of the life of the Early Church throughout the second century, but that in the early decades of the third century a decline in their importance began which culminated in their dropping from sight c. 260 A.D. Secondly, it will be maintained that this diminution of importance which the charismata experienced can best be explained in terms of the process of institutionalization which is caused by religious, social, and economic factors.

The study has three main parts: Part I - a study of the charismata in the NT Church; Part II - an examination of the evidence of charismatic activity in the Early Church before 320 A.D., and Part III - an attempt to explain the decline in the importance of the charismata.

I

CHARISMATA IN THE NEW TESTAMENT CHURCH

The New Testament, even when given only a superficial reading, is seen to present the word 'Spirit' (πνεῦμα) with considerable frequency--a fact which suggests that the Holy Spirit was very real to the early Christian communities out of which the New Testament grew. C.K. Barrett, in his article, 'The Holy Spirit in the Fourth Gospel,' says,

> No more certain statement can be made about the Christians of the first generation than this: they believed themselves to be living under the immediate government of the Spirit of God.[1]

This clear awareness of the Spirit's activity is particularly apparent in Luke-Acts and the major Pauline epistles.[2]

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[1] JThSt (NS) 1(1950)1.

[2] E.W. Winstanley, Spirit in the New Testament (Cambridge: The University Press, 1908), p. 122. In the 'Conspectus of Distribution' given there, Winstanley gives the following information: πνεῦμα (and its related forms) appears 334 times in the NT meaning a divine Spirit (as opposed to evil spirit). Of these occurrences, 86 are in Luke-Acts (24 in the Gospel, and 62 in Acts), and 144 are in the Pauline corpus

However, not only is the Holy Spirit mentioned often in the New Testament, but also there are numerous occasions when He is portrayed as standing behind or as being involved in dramatic, extraordinary events such as the performing of miracles, the utterance of prophecy, and glossolalia. In fact, He appears in this role in possibly 54 passages.[1] The impression which is given by the frequency with which these unique, Spirit-directed phenomena (overt pneumatic experiences, or 'charismata'[2]) are mentioned is that

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(109 in the four books which are undisputedly Pauline - Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians). Therefore, in Luke-Acts and the Pauline corpus, πνεῦμα appears 230 times meaning a divine Spirit: this is more than two thirds of the NT occurrences.

[1] These passages vary considerably in length. Some belong more clearly in this category than do others. They are: Mt.3:11; Mk.1:8; Lk.1:41-45; 1:67-79; 3:16; 16:7-14; Ac.1:5; 1:8; 2:1-4; 2:33; 2:37-39; 2:43; 4:8; 4:31; 6:3; 6:5; 6:8-10; 7:55; 8:14-19; 9:17; 10:44-48; 11:15-17; 11:24; 11:27&28; 13:2; 13:9; 15:8; 19:1-6; 20:22&23; 21:4; 21:8-11; Rom.12:3-8; 15: 18&19; 1 Cor.2:4; 12:1-;4:40; 2 Cor.12:12; Gal.3:5; 3:14; 5:18&19; 6:18; 1 Thess.1:5; 5:19&20; 1 Tim. 4:1; Heb.2:4; 1 Pet.1:12; 1 Jn.4:1-3; Rev.1:10; 2:7; 2:11; 2:17; 2:29; 3:6; 4:2; 21:10.

[2] See p. 4ff. above.

they were important in the life of the NT Church. We shall now focus attention upon the NT in order to see if this impression bears up under close scrutiny. We shall attempt to determine what the charismatic experience of the NT Church was, and while doing so, attention will also be given to how widespread these phenomena were.

In carrying out this examination, the two main NT deposits of information regarding charismata, Luke-Acts and the Pauline corpus, will be considered first, and then the relevant passages scattered throughout the rest of the canonical material will be drawn into the discussion. This study will not attempt to handle major textual controversy. Consequently, the reference to γλῶσσαι καιναί in the long ending of Mark will not be considered, nor will the long form of Acts, found in Codex Bezae, be examined.[1]

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[1]A.C. Clark (The Acts of the Apostles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933)) argues that the Western text of Acts is earlier than the 'Neutral' text. However, E. Haenchen (The Acts of the Apostles. Translation Ed. R.McL. Wilson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), pp. 50-60.) and F.F. Bruce (The Acts of the Apostles (London: The Tyndale Press, 1952²). pp. 40-47), on better grounds, grant priority to the

'Neutral' ('Alexandrian' or 'Egyptian') text. See also the contribution made to the discussion of the Western text by E.J. Epp in The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts (Cambridge: University Press, 1966).

and PhD Thesis, St Andrews

1

Charismata in Luke-Acts

It is now virtually a commonplace to say that Luke-Acts has been a focal point of controversy in the theological world over the last two decades.[1] The documents have been subjected to painstaking examination in search for answers to many questions. Before we can proceed to a discussion of the charismata in Luke-Acts we must pause to mention briefly some of the issues that have prompted prolonged debates. No exhaustive or definitive discussions will be attempted here: such would be extraneous to the study we are undertaking.

Some of the questions which have received scholarly attention are: the sources upon which the author of Acts may have drawn;[2] the identity of the individual

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[1]See W.C. van Unnik, 'Luke-Acts, A Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship,' Studies in Luke-Acts, Ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn (Nashville, New York: Abingdon Press, 1966), pp. 15-32.

[2]See the studies by Martin Dibelius, 'Stilkritisches zur Apostelgeschichte,' Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte, Ed. H. Greeven (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht,

who wrote Acts,[1] and the historical reliability of the book he produced. The first two questions will receive no further treatment here beyond the lists of relevant literature which have been given. The

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1951.) (ET, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, Trans. M. Ling (London: SCM Press, 1956), and E. Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, pp. 81-90 and pp. 117ff. These scholars assert that the author of Acts was unable to, or did not, use sources for large parts of his book. Other scholars have presented material which leads to the opposite conclusion: that Luke was able to draw on sources for large parts of his work. See the studies by M. Wilcox, The Semitisms in Acts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), H.H. Wendt, 'Die Hauptquelle der Apostelgeschichte,' ZNW 24(1925) 293-305, J. Jeremias, 'Die antiochenische Quelle der Apostelgeschichte und Quellenproblem der Apostelgeschichte,' ZNW 36(1937)205-221, Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967^3), p. 272, D. Guthrie, New Testament Introduction (Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1970^3), pp. 363-377, R.A. Martin, 'Syntactical Evidence of Aramaic Sources,' NTS 11(1964)38-59, and E.E. Ellis, The Gospel of Luke, (The Century Bible)(London: Nelson, 1966).

[1]See Haenchen (The Acts of the Apostles, pp. 112ff. and p. 117-121) and P. Vielhauer ('On the "Paulinism" of Acts,' Trans. W.C. Robinson and V.P. Furnish, Studies in Luke-Acts, Ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn), who deny that Luke, the companion of Paul, wrote Acts. On the other hand, the following studies offer material which suggests that the traditional position on the authorship of Acts--that it was written by Luke, the companion of Paul--is correct: van Unnik, 'Luke-Acts, A Storm Center in Contemporary Scholarship'; Ellis, The Gospel of Luke; P. Borgen, 'From Paul to Luke,' Catholic Biblical Quarterly 31(1969)168-182, and Guthrie, New Testament Introduction, pp. 100-109.

question of the historical reliability of Acts will detain us longer.

In the eyes of many modern scholars, when Luke is rated by modern standards of historiography, he comes off rather badly. C.K. Barrett looks upon Luke as a man chiefly concerned with theology.[1] Dibelius says,

> The whole work aims not so much at letting the readers know what really happened as at helping them to understand what all this means, this invasion of the world of hellenistic culture by the Christian Church, but particularly they are to recognise and cherish the gospel itself and the success it achieves among mankind.[2]

Haenchen insists that any book Luke could offer his readers, especially after the Gospel, had to be a "work of edifcation".[3] Two facts precluded Luke's writing a solid history in the classical Greek style, says Haenchen: an inadequate historical foundation, and the wrong sort of public.[4] In fact, Luke probably

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[1]C.K. Barrett, Luke the Historian in Recent Study (London: Epworth Press, 1961), p. 58.

[2]Dibelius, p. 133.

[3]Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, p. 103.

[4]Haenchen, ibid.

did not suffer from either of these liabilities. From the list given in p. 16 n. 2 above, it may be seen that there is a large number of scholars who think that for at least parts of Acts the use of sources can be detected. In addition to this, many of the considerations they present go a long way towards establishing the presence of sources in the various parts of Acts. On the question of Luke's public, Dibelius argues convincingly that the excellent style of the prologue to the Gospel (Luke 1:1-4) presupposes a public which could appreciate it--a cultured public.[1] The degree to which Luke attempted to write history in the classical style is open to question,[2] but it is unlikely that he was kept from producing an historically sound piece of work by either a paucity of sources or

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[1]Dibelius, p. 88. This suggests that Luke was writing with others in mind than just members of the Church.

[2]For detailed discussions of the speeches in Acts see Dibelius, Studies, pp. 26-77, 138-185, Guthrie, pp. 359-363, and Matthew Black, 'Second Thoughts IX. The Semitic Element in the New Testament,' ExpT 77(1965)20-23.

an uncultured public.

There is much to be said for the approach to Acts which is taken by Dibelius, Haenchen, Barrett, and others. Trying to determine Luke's motives for writing this book can and has yielded many valuable insights. However, the worth of this approach does not alter the fact that Luke, at least, gives the impression that he is going to write something which is factually solid. In Acts 1:1 he refers to his Gospel, the prologue of which contains a reference to the research he had carried out before he started writing. Therefore, it remains valid and useful to enquire into the value of Luke's writings as history. The two approaches, one emphasizing Luke's presuppositions and motives and the other questioning the factuality of his writing, are not contradictory, but complementary. In fact, a clear understanding of what Luke was trying to do when he wrote Acts is essential to an accurate evaluation of the book as an historical document.

Having said this, we shall ask what is the general historical value of Luke's writings. In reply, we can say that there is evidence which suggests that Luke wrote

faithful history. Once again, attention is directed to the various studies done on the Semitisms in Acts. In drawing conclusions from his research, Wilcox says that the small 'knots' of Semitic material which have survived unrevised in Acts give "...a rather strong indication of the general authenticity of the stories in which they are embedded,..."[1] Luke was able to use very early material in at least parts of his book which increases the probability that what he has written he has written with historical accuracy. Matthew Black points to a primitive Aramaic Targumic element in Paul's speech at Pisidian Antioch (Acts 13: 22). The Lucan text in this passage features a conflation of LXX and Targum tradition, and Black suggests that this can be best explained by granting that Paul was the originator of the conflation.[2] Black further suggests that this conflation and a characteristically Pauline word in v. 38, δικαιωθῆναι, combine to lead one to the conclusion that Luke has

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[1]Wilcox, p. 181.

[2]Black, 'Second Thoughts: Semitic Element in the New Testament,' p. 22.

preserved what Paul said.[1] In concluding his treatment of this passage, Black says,

> Like the similar piece of Aramaic targum of Is 6[9] at Mk 4[11] this Aramaic Targum fragment in Acts is a fact of inestimable value as a primitive feature of the Lucan tradition, linking Acts with the earliest apostolic preaching and teaching.[2]

Strictly speaking, the evidence of Semitic sources only proves the antiquity of the tradition of the passages in which they occur. However, if Luke faithfully preserved ancient traditions in some passages, then it is at least possible that he did so elsewhere as well. These are strong arguments for the high historical quality of Luke's work.

Donald Guthrie approaches the question of the historical reliability of Acts from another angle by pointing to the accuracy of Luke's political knowledge. Guthrie argues cogently that the archaeological work of Sir William Ramsay has done much to substantiate statements which Luke makes.[3]

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[1]Black, ibid.

[2]Black, ibid.

[3]Guthrie, p. 354f.

Having looked at some of the issues arising out of the Luke-Acts controversy, we now turn to the books themselves in hopes of assessing whatever information they may contain relevant to a study of the charismata.

In his gospel, Luke did not say much about the Holy Spirit, and various explanations have been offered for this fact. C.K. Barrett, commenting on Jesus' silence regarding the Spirit, says,

> ... the eschatological thought of Jesus, so far as this may be known, accounts for his silence with regard to the Spirit. He could not in the time of his ministry speak of his own plenary inspiration, nor unmistakably reveal it, because that would have meant the betrayal of the Messianic secret. He did not bestow the Spirit upon his followers, because that gift was the mark of the fully realized Kingdom of God, and did not lie within the province of the germinal Kingdom which corresponded to his veiled Messiahship.[1]

Barrett's idea is that the nature of Jesus' Messiahship precluded his emphasising the Holy Spirit.

G.W.H. Lampe views the paucity of references in Luke's Gospel to the place of the Holy Spirit in

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[1] C.K. Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition (London: S.P.C.K., 1947), p. 160.

Jesus' life and ministry from another angle. He suggests that the silence is to be attributed to Luke, and not to Jesus as Barrett says. For Luke, the Age of the Spirit did not begin until after Jesus' death.[1] However, Luke does say that the Spirit was active before the time Lampe suggests. He is presented as having been involved in the lives of men before and immediately after the birth of John the Baptist: Luke 1:41-45 and 1:67-79.[2]

J.H.E. Hull sees this lack of reference to the Spirit by Jesus as being explained in another way. He puts forward the idea that the explanation for this silence lies in the disciples' lack of preparedness to hear that Jesus was going to die, much less to hear about what was going to happen after his death.[3]

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[1]G.W.H. Lampe, 'The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke,' Studies in the Gospels, Ed. D.E. Nineham (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), p. 171.

[2]For a discussion of these verses see p. 48 below.

[3]J.H.E. Hull, The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles (London: Lutterworth Press, 1967), p. 39.

Although he does not greatly emphasize the activity of the Spirit in Jesus' ministry, Luke, and the other synoptists, do connect the Holy Spirit with the crucial events of Jesus' life. C.K. Barrett, in The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, treats these events very fully. There is one particular case--Luke 11:13--which perhaps reveals the importance which Luke concedes to the Holy Spirit. It is possible, as Winstanley suggests, that Luke interprets the ἀγαθά of Mt. 7:11 to mean πνεῦμα ἅγιον . Such an interpretation would suggest that Luke thought of the Holy Spirit as the chief answer to prayer.

There are also three other passages in the Gospel of Luke in which the Holy Spirit is spoken of, and all three of them seem to have reference to charismatic activity. They are: Lk.1:41-45; 1:67-79, and 3:16. The first two will be dealt with below,[1] but the last will be considered here. It reads as follows:

John answered them all, "I baptize you with

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[1]See p. 48 below.

> water; but he who is mightier than I is coming, the thong of whose sandals I am not worthy to untie; he will baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire.

This verse merits treatment in this study by virtue of the fact that the message it contains reappears in Acts 1:5 associated with Jesus, where he relates it to the imminent Day of Pentecost. Lk.3:16 is paralleled by Mk.1:8 and Mt.3:11. There are a number of variations in the text of the whole passage dealing with John the Baptist as it is presented by the different Evangelists, but only those in the section dealing with the means of baptism need concern us here. In this section, Luke and Matthew tell us that the Coming One will baptize with Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί , while Mark and Acts 1:5 speak only of Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ.

It is fairly obvious that (as mentioned above) the promise of a Spirit-baptism in Acts 1:5 is referring to the experience of the Early Church which is portrayed in Acts 2. Acts 1:5 foretells a noteworthy experience with the Holy Spirit, and the first one the Early Church had after these words were spoken occurred on the Day of Pentecost. In

addition to this, while accounting for his relationship with the household of Cornelius,Peter strongly implies that he regards the words of Jesus as a prophecy of the events of the Day of Pentecost (Acts 11:15&16). If the connection between Acts 1:5 and Acts 2 can be maintained,[1] then the words as spoken by Jesus refer to a future outpouring of the Holy Spirit: an event which brought blessing and power to the Church. In order to understand Lk.3:16 properly, one must ask: does the saying refer to the same kind of an event when it is found on John the Baptist's lips as when it is spoken by Jesus? Does John prophesy a future bestowal of the Spirit which will result in blessings for the Church?

Those who have answered this question in the affirmative have qualified their answer, insisting that in Lk.3:16 John is speaking of a two-fold baptism. A.R.C. Leaney says that John's saying about the future baptism contains both a promise and a

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[1]C.H. Kraeling (John the Baptist (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. 60) thinks it can.

warning: the Spirit will come to purify and the experience will be painful.[1] Leaney goes on to say that the baptism of the Coming One seems to take place on the Day of Pentecost.[2]

C.H.H. Scobie gives a considerably more extended treatment to John's saying regarding the two baptisms than does Leaney. Scobie argues strongly that John's original saying included references to both fire and the Spirit and goes on to point out that the term 'Spirit of God' was widely known in Jewish circles and that there would be nothing improbable in John's using it.[3] Scobie concludes his treatment of John's saying by stating,

> In view of all this there is little reason to doubt that John did speak of a Messiah who would baptize, not with water as John himself did, but with both fire and holy spirit. Upon the wicked, the Coming One will pour out a river of fire to punish and destroy them; but on God's

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[1] A.R.C. Leaney, The Gospel According to St. Luke, (Black's New Testament Commentaries, Ed. H. Chadwick) (London: A.& C. Black, 1958), p. 40.

[2] Leaney, p. 40.

[3] C.H.H. Scobie, John the Baptist (Londnn: SCM Press Ltd., 1964), p. 70f.

> people the Coming One will pour out God's spirit and all the blessings which that entails.[1]

Therefore, Scobie answers the question affirmatively: John did prophesy a future outpouring of the Spirit which would bring blessing for the righteous, but it would also bring torment for the wicked.

The idea that John the Baptist envisaged an outpouring of the Spirit similar to that which occurred on the Day of Pentecost has encountered opposition from several directions. S.E. Johnson refers to a conjecture that John said that he baptized with water but that the Coming One would baptize with fire.[2] It is precisely this conjecture which G.B. Caird develops. He says that there are three possible ways in which to understand John's saying regarding baptism: it could be seen as an hendiadys-- 'with the sacred flame of the Spirit,' as referring to a dual baptism offering a gift for the penitent and punishment for the obdurate, or as a prediction of a baptism of fire

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[1] Scobie, p. 73.

[2] S.E. Johnson, The Gospel According to Mark, (Black's New Testament Commentaries, Ed. H. Chadwick) (London: A.& C. Black, 1960), p. 37.

only.[1] Caird seems to favour the last view, saying that it draws support from: John's repeated emphasis on a fiery judgment; Acts 19:2-12 where followers of John profess to never having heard of the Spirit, and a reflection in a saying of Jesus (Lk.12:49-50) in which his death is described as a fire he has been sent to kindle and a baptism he must undergo.[2] V. Taylor points out that the idea of a baptism of fire gains support from the sayings about the fan, the wheat and the chaff which follow immediately the mention of the baptisms in Mt.3 and Lk.3.[3] Taylor continues, "Probably, then, the reference to the Holy Spirit has been introduced under the influence of the Christian practice of baptism."[4]

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[1]G.B. Caird, The Gospel of St Luke, (The Pelican Gospel Commentaries)(London: A.& C. Black, 1968), p. 74.

[2]Caird, p. 74.

[3]V. Taylor, The Gospel According to Saint Mark (London: MacMillan & Co Ltd, 1952), p. 157.

[4]Taylor, p. 157. Caird (p.74) thinks the presence of the Holy Spirit in the saying is to be explained as a result of a reinterpretation after the events of the Day of Pentecost.

E.E. Ellis attacks the suggestion that John said the Coming One would baptize only with fire. He points to the weakness of the reference to Acts 19: 1-7,[1] and proceeds to say that to regard 'fire' as being in John's original saying rather than 'holy spirit' "...overlooks the fact that the word is addressed to the faithful ('you') who are delivered from the destructive judgment fire."[2] This comment is somewhat of an over-simplification: it is difficult to ascertain exactly to whom the Baptist addressed his words. In Lk. 3 the addressees are probably people who have received John's message and attempted to modify their lives in accordance with it, but in Mt. 3 the scene is quite different. In Mt. 3:7-10, there is no indication that John's hearers had responded to his call to repentence. They are a 'brood of vipers'. The context of the saying about the baptisms in Mk.1 is not sufficiently full to give a clear impression

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[1] E.E. Ellis, The Gospel of Luke, (The Century Bible)(London: Nelson, 1966), p. 90. See also Kraeling, p. 59.

[2] Ellis, p. 90.

of those to whom John is speaking. This variety reduces the force of Ellis' statement.

The suggestion that John's original statement referred to a future outpouring of the Spirit has been questioned on other grounds also. It has been argued that in the original saying there was no mention of the Holy Spirit. E. Best has advanced three arguments in support of this position.

First he says,

> There is no reference in the Jewish tradition to the Holy Spirit as the gift of the Messiah; T. Levi 18 and T. Jud. 24 are exceptions but it is difficult to be certain that they are free from Christian influence.[1]

In evaluating this argument, we note that Best makes reference to two exceptions to his general statement, but that he dismisses them. Perhaps he dismisses them too quickly. No attempt is made to show why the passages cited do not fit their contexts or to show what their distinctive Christian features are. Furthermore, R.H. Charles does not think that

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[1] E. Best, 'Spirit-Baptism,' Novum Testamentum 4(1960)236. V. Taylor (p. 157) also states that the outpouring of the Spirit in the Last Days was not associated with the Messiah in Jewish literature.

these passages are Christian additions.[1] In view of this, one should hesitate before denying that the passages in question speak of a connection between the Holy Spirit and the Messiah.

At any rate, there is more evidence which is relevant to the question. A passage in the Damascus Document says,

> And in all of them He raised for Himself men called by name, in order to leave a remnant to the earth and to fill the face of the world with their children. And through His Anointed He made them know His Holy Spirit,....[2]

This passage seems to contain a clear instance of the Holy Spirit's being associated with the Messiah.[3] In addition to this passage and to the two mentioned above, C.K. Barrett cites two other places in Jewish

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[1] R.H. Charles, Ed., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), pp. 315 and 324.

[2] Fragments of a Zadokite Work, 2:11-13, Trans. S. Schechter, (Documents of Jewish Sectaries, 1)(Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1970), p. 65.

[3] Matthew Black (The Scrolls and Christian Origins (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961), p. 156) thinks that mashiah in this passage from the Damascus Document, as in most other passages in which it appears in that work, refers to the 'Messiah of Aaron and Israel.'

literature where the person of the Messiah is linked with the "Messianic" gift of the Spirit: 1 Enoch 49:3; Pss. Sol. 17:42.[1] Therefore, there are five passages in the literature of the Jewish tradition which relate a bestowal of the Holy Spirit to the Messiah: a significant body of evidence. G.E.B. Cranfield probably goes too far when he concludes from evidence of this sort that "... it seems more probable that the original saying of John did contain a reference to the bestowal of the Holy Spirit,"[2] but this evidence certainly makes a mention of the Holy Spirit in the original saying a distinct possibility, and in doing so it highlights the weakness of Best's argument.

Best's second argument against assuming that John the Baptist's original saying included a reference to the Holy Spirit rests upon Acts 19:1ff. where it is said that John's disciples had not even heard of the Holy Spirit. However, Best does not press this argument

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[1] Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, p. 42.

[2] C.E.B. Cranfield, The Gospel According to Saint Mark (Cambridge: University Press, 1963), p. 50.

because of the difficulty there is in interpreting this passage.[1]

Best's third argument calls attention to the contexts in Mt. and Lk. which surround John's saying about the baptisms and it is the most cogent of the three he offers. Best points out that in Mt. and Lk. John is cast in the role of a prophet who is called to deliver a warning: the Messiah is coming and with him will come judgment and fiery punishment.[2] This seems to be essentially correct, and the strength of the argument is added to when Best goes on to say,

> Moreover while the Q tradition contains within itself an expansion of the phrase 'baptism with fire' there is no similar expansion of the phrase 'baptism with Spirit', the implications of which would be redemptive rather than punitive.[3]

We have seen that the saying about baptism as it appears in Acts 1:5 probably refers to a future outpouring of the Spirit which will result in blessings

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[1] Best, 'Spirit-Baptism,' p. 237. See Ellis, p. 90 and Kraeling, p. 59.

[2] Best, 'Spirit-Baptism,' p. 237.

[3] Best, ibid.

for men.[1] If this is the only role which the Holy Spirit can play, then in the light of Best's arguments it would appear that one should assume that a reference to the Holy Spirit did not appear in John's original statement. This is Best's conclusion.

Having argued against assuming that 'Spirit' appeared in John's original statement, Best proceeds to give an alternative explanation of the passage, one which had originally been proposed by R. Eisler.[2] This explanation suggests that John's original saying contained references to both πνεῦμα and πῦρ , but that πνεῦμα is to be understood as meaning 'wind' and not 'spirit'.[3] This would tie in well with the allusion to wind in Mt.3:12 and Lk.3:17. C.K. Barrett, who argues for the same interpretation, says that both wind and fire are to be regarded as instruments of judgment, and he offers an expanded version of John's statement about the baptism of the Coming One: "...:

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[1] See p. 27 above.

[2] R. Eisler, The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist, pp. 275-280 as cited by Best, 'Spirit-Baptism,' p. 240.

[3] Best, p. 240.

'He will baptize (i.e. judge) you with wind and fire; the wind will sweep through the threshing floor to carry away the chaff, which will then be burned.'"[1] Barrett concludes his treatment of John's saying by putting forward an explanation of how 'Holy Spirit' got into the Gospel texts. He says,

> The forms in which the saying appeared in Mk. (? and in the Q source) were due to the influence of the Christian experience; we cannot see here a prophecy of the gift of the Spirit to the Church. The contrast between the very rare use of πνεῦμα in the Gospels with its frequency in the rest of the NT is accentuated; for the present occurrence is due to a "reading back" from the later period.[2]

At this point, a treatment of John the Baptist's saying by C.H. Kraeling serves to redirect our discussion. He insists that the Holy Spirit was mentioned in the earliest form of the saying[3] and then goes on to attempt to show how this can be reconciled with the ominous nature of John's message. He does this

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[1]Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, p. 126.

[2]Barrett, ibid.

[3]Kraeling, p. 60.

by asserting that the Christian concept of the Holy Spirit as a creative and redemptive agent has blinded us to another part of the Hebrew concept of the Spirit.[1] This second part, Kraeling says, is to be seen in the Spirit's acting against evil and wickedness. He continues, "This purgative and destructive aspect of the working of the Spirit...is as characteristic of the traditional Hebrew conception as the inspiring and uplifting function."[2] He further says that this kind of activity on the part of the Spirit is obscured by English translations which usually take ruach in such passages to mean 'breath'. He also says that πνεῦμα in the NT can carry this destructive sense too and cites 2 Thess.2:8 as an instance.[3] Kraeling then applies these considerations to John's statement by saying,

> Following this line of thought it is possible to suggest that in the original saying of John which underlies the relevant New

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[1] Kraeling, p. 61.

[2] Kraeling, ibid.

[3] Kraeling, p. 62.

> Testament material there was an allusion to the Spirit as a purgative and destructive force working through the Messiah.[1]

In Kraeling's opinion, then, John's original statement spoke of a Messiah who would baptize with the Spirit. Kraeling suggests that "and fire" was added by Christians who were afraid that the punitive nature of John's prophecy would be lost because of the positive experiences with the Holy Spirit which the Early Church had had on the Day of Pentecost and after.[2]

One suspects that the purgative, destructive part of the Hebrew conception of the Spirit's activity is not as strong as Kraeling implies.[3] However, the suggestion is plausible: Job 4:9, Is.30:28, Is.4:4, and Is. 31:3 all present ruach involved in this sort of activity. Since it is certainly possible that John could have spoken of the Spirit in connection

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[1]Kraeling, p. 62.

[2]Kraeling, p. 63.

[3]See 'πνεῦμα, πνευματικός, B. Spirit in the OT,' Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Ed. G. Friedrich, Trans. G.W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1968), VI, 359-367.

with the Messiah,[1] and since Kraeling's suggestion fits the contexts in Mt.3 and Lk.3 well, it would seem that his explanation of the saying about baptism is to be preferred to that which takes πνεῦμα to mean 'wind'.

Now we can return to the question posed earlier: do Lk.3:16 and parallels refer to a future outpouring of the Holy Spirit similar to that which occurred on the Day of Pentecost and which was foretold by Jesus (Acts 1:5)? It would seem that the answer has to be negative. The nature of John's mission as revealed in his preaching indicates that he envisaged a future outpouring of the Spirit not to bless, but to judge mankind. Thus the event foretold in Lk.3:16 and parallels is essentially different from that which is prophesied in Acts 1:5. Perhaps this is an instance in which the Christian community, or Jesus himself,[2] corrected John the Baptist's inadequate grasp of the role of the Holy Spirit.

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[1]See p. 33f. above.

[2]Best, 'Spirit-Baptism,' p. 242.

Let it be noted in passing that the paucity of references to the Spirit in the gospels is to the evangelists' credit. They were fully aware of the Spirit's activity in the Church, and they resisted the temptation to read his activity back into the life of Christ. C.K. Barrett refers to this and then goes on to say, "But this process [of reading back] was checked by the conviction, at once historical and theological, that "the Spirit was not yet; because Jesus was not yet glorified" (Jn.7.39);..."[1] The pressure to 'read back' the activity of the Holy Spirit must have been greatest upon Luke who has a strong predisposition towards the Spirit.

In his second book, Acts, Luke is much more concerned with the Holy Spirit than he is in his Gospel. Much has been said about why Acts was written. Vielhauer thinks Acts is primarily an attempt to provide an historically reliable account of the "witnesses of Jesus" and their "witness to Jesus";[2]

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[1]Barrett, The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition, p. 162.

[2]Vielhauer, p. 48.

Bruce holds that the main purpose was apologetic;[1] Ellis thinks that the principal purpose was to discuss the Jews' rejection of Christ,[2] but Barrett seems to be closest to the truth when he suggests that Acts was written to show how the "Spirit of Jesus" shaped men's lives and employed them in continuing Jesus' work.[3] As Guthrie points out,

> The many references to the Holy Spirit in this book are a sufficient indication that the writer regards the development of Christian history as due to superhuman control.[4]

Luke had good grounds for holding to this conclusion. From its earliest moments, the Church had been confronted by hostility from the Jewish community; it had to live down the apparently shameful death of its Founder, and it had possessed no distinctive Scripture, having continued to use the sacred books of Judaism. The difficulty and complexity of the

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[1] F.F. Bruce, The Acts of the Apostles. The Greek Text with Introduction and Commentary (London: The Tyndale Press, 1952[2]), p. 30f.

[2] Ellis, p. 59.

[3] Barrett, p. 62.

[4] Guthrie, New Testament Introduction, p. 336.

situation were further heightened by the appearance of diversified traditions: a development which took place as Christianity took root in different social and ethnic settings. One is able to see readily why Luke, aware of these awesome difficulties which had dogged the Church, found himself disposed to adopt a non-human explanation for the Church's continuing existence. Luke attempted to show that the entire development of the Church had been undergirded, prompted, and inspired by the Spirit. As H. Conzelmann says, the Spirit stood behind the Church's missionary outreach, and gave guidance at every turn.[1]

In view of the foregoing, it ought not to be surprising that when one turns his attention to Acts, he discovers many passages which have reference to the Spirit's manifesting His presence in the life of the Church through charismatic action. These passages are: 1:5; 1:8; 2:1-4; 2:33; 2:37-39; 2:43; 4:8; 4:31; 6:3; 6:5; 6:8-10; 7:55; 8:14-19; 9:17; 10:44-48; 11:15-17; 11:24; 11:27&28; 13:2; 13:9; 15:8; 15:32; 19:

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[1] The Theology of St. Luke, Trans. G. Buswell (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 213.

1-6; 20:22&23; 21:4; 21:8-11.

In these passages there are two key concepts which mark Luke's thought regarding the charismatic activity of the Holy Spirit. The first is the understanding of the Spirit as an external force affecting the individual by "coming upon" him or by "filling" him. The second is the idea of unique, usually powerful behaviour which results from the "coming upon" or "filling".

The first of these concepts which we shall consider is that of the Spirit's being an external force or influence which in some way breaks into the lives of men. R. Bultmann sees this as an "animistic concept" (animistische Denkweise) in which the Spirit appears as a personal force which, like a demon, falls upon (überfallen) men.[1] This idea is illustrated in several passages in Acts. The first of these is 1:8

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[1] R. Bultmann, Theologie des Neuen Testaments (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1953), p. 153. (ET, Theology of the New Testament. Trans. K. Grobel. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1951 and 1955.) None of the passages which Bultmann cites as illustrative of this conception (Acts 5:32; 10:19; 16:6f; 20:23) illustrate it very clearly.

where the key words are ἐπέλθοντος τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς,... The preposition ἐπί is of major importance. Regarding it Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich say, "on, upon, to, over of powers, conditions, etc., which come upon someone or under whose influence he finds himself."[1] The picture evoked is of the Holy Spirit's swooping down upon individuals, seizing them, and using them.

The concept of the Spirit as a force which 'comes upon' is evident also in Acts 8:16. This verse, in part, reads οὐδέπω γάρ ἦν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιπεπτωκός,...The emphasis of the verse is derived from the preposition ἐπί and the verb ἐπιπίπτω. The former was discussed above; the latter bears the idea of coming upon with great power, taking control of.[2] Again the picture is of the Holy Spirit's seizing men. This combination of ἐπί and ἐπιπίπτω appears again in Acts 10:44 and Acts 11:15. Both of these passages refer to events which took place at the

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[1]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 288.

[2]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 297.

house of Cornelius, the centurion, and in both the Holy Spirit is spoken of as taking control of people. In Acts 19:6, only the preposition ἐπί is used, but the emphasis remains the same.

In his discussion of the concept of the Holy Spirit which is to be seen in Luke-Acts, E. Schweizer draws attention to the fact that Luke finds it unsatisfactory to conceive of the relationship between Jesus and the Holy Spirit in OT terms which regard the Spirit as a force which comes upon men.[1] While this observation regarding the relationship between Jesus and the Spirit may be accurate, Schweizer extends it to the discussion of the presence of the Spirit in the community of believers. He says, "In analogy thereto it may be said that even when he thinks of the community Luke seeks to overcome the concept of the Spirit as a power which leaps on man and then leaves him again."[2]

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[1] E. Schweizer, 'πνεῦμα, πνευματικός, E. The New Testament,' Theological Dictionary of the New Testament. Ed. G. Friedrich, Trans. G.W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1968), VI, 404f.

[2] Schweizer, p. 406.

The passages which we have examined above suggest that Schweizer's comments are not quite accurate. At least if Luke did try to overcome this concept of the Spirit he did not have much success.

The Spirit, as an external force, is spoken of not only as "coming upon" men, but also as "filling" them. Bultmann thinks this is a "dynamistic concept" (dynamistische Denkweise) in which the Spirit appears as an impersonal power which fills men like a fluid.[1] This concept of the Spirit seems to be original with Luke.[2] The key words are the adjective πλήρης (filled, full) and the verb πίμπλημι (fill, fulfill). In many of Luke's passages it comes to mean the filling of the inner lives of men by the Holy Spirit.[3] The human subject becomes saturated with the Holy Spirit. This is not a sophisticated metaphysical concept, and if one insists upon a literal explication of the term, he must end in theological unintelligibility. ἐπλήσθησαν

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[1]Bultmann, p. 154.

[2]Schweizer, VI, 406.

[3]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 663.

...Πνεύματος Ἁγίου must not be regarded as an expression defining an experience, but as an expression pointing towards an experience.

Luke uses the idea of the Spirit's "filling" men in several passages in his two books. It appears first in Lk.1:41 where Elizabeth is "filled with the Holy Spirit" and again in Lk.1:67 where Zechariah has a similar experience.[1] The idea occurs in Acts 2:4, in the narration of events which took place on the Day of Pentecost; in Acts 4:8, when Peter was about to speak for the Church; in Acts 4:31, as the Church prayed; in Acts 9:17 in Ananias' prayer over Paul, and in Acts 13:9 when Paul found himself in an encounter with a Cypriot magician. Acts 6:3, 6:5; 6:8; 7:55 and 11:24 also speak about Spirit-filled men. In these last passages,

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[1]It is interesting to see Luke's mentioning these experiences which precede the birth of Jesus, and, therefore, fall into the first of the three periods of salvation history postulated by Conzelmann(The Theology of St. Luke). Conzelmann takes into account the relationship between Jesus and the Spirit (p. 184) and the Church and the Spirit (p. 208), but he does not seem to have discussed the place of the Spirit in the first period, and in particular, he does not deal with the implications these passages have for his system.

however, the adjective πλήρης is used rather than some form of the verb πίμπλημι. In the cases of the men mentioned in the passages cited, being 'filled with the Holy Spirit' had become characteristic of their lives. The idea seems to be that the isolated, 'occasional' instances when these men were 'filled' with the Spirit became so frequent as to run together making their being 'filled' with the Spirit a virtually continuous state. As G. Delling says regarding Acts 6:3; 6:5 and 6:8, "These sayings clearly refer to enduring possession."[1] These observations may arouse the question: how did men like Stephen and Barnabas compare to the θεῖοι ἄνδρες of the Hellenistic World?[2]

In reply to this question, it can be said that, at least, there were marked similarities. Bultmann describes the θεῖος ἀνήρ as one "..., who is of higher nature than ordinary mortals, filled with mysterious,

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[1] 'πλήρης,' Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Ed. G. Friedrich, Trans. G.W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1968), VI, 285.

[2] See p. 95 n.1 and p. 151 n.1 below.

divine power, which makes him capable of miraculous insights and deeds."[1] Stephen and Barnabas had just these sorts of capabilities as a result of their being filled with the Spirit.[2] However, if Bultmann's description of a θεῖος ἀνήρ can be regarded as accurate, there does seem to be one dissimilarity between the men of the Spirit in Acts and their non-Christian, Greek counterparts: it is open to question whether or not Luke thought men like Stephen were essentially higher than ordinary men. If he did not, then Kleinknecht is correct in observing that the typically Greek conception of θεῖος ἀνήρ is not to be found in the NT.[3]

Acts 2:33 presents a slightly different scene. Here Jesus, who had received the Spirit from the Father, is seen to have "poured" (ἐξέχεεν) it upon the assembled disciples. The main idea of this passage

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[1]Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, I, 157.

[2]See p. 65f. below

[3]H. Kleinknecht, 'θεῖος,' Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Ed. G. Kittel, Trans. G.W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1965), III, 122.

is that the Holy Spirit is 'dropped upon' the disciples like rain.

It is of interest to note some of the times when, and circumstances in which the Holy Spirit 'came upon' or 'filled' men. This experience came to men while they were enjoying fellowship and, perhaps, worshipping together (Acts 2:1-4), following the 'laying on of hands' (Acts 8:6), and while listening to sermon (Acts 10:44-48). This diversity serves to illustrate the Lucan awareness of the freedom of the Spirit: He is in no way bound to convention. Luke was convinced that He moved when, how, and upon whom He wished. He was a Force, which unpredictably and inscrutably broke into human experience in order to shape and to guide the development of the Community for which He had been given the responsibility.

The second idea which is of paramount importance in Luke's understanding of the Spirit's charismatic activity is that unique, usually powerful behaviour follows upon the Spirit's 'coming upon' or 'filling' men. In Acts, every such experience with the Spirit results in especially empowered action. Given Acts

1:8, this fact ought not to be surprising, because in that passage, the resurrected Christ promised His disciples that they would receive δύναμις (power, might, strength, force) once the Spirit had 'come upon' them. This power was not given in order to produce miracles which would authenticate the apostles' preaching,[1] but in order to empower and to make the preaching itself more effective.

There are numerous passages in Acts which illustrate the connection between the Spirit's 'coming upon' or 'filling' a man and unusual, powerful action.

The first passage to be considered is Acts 2:4 -- καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν πάντες Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ ἤρξαντο λαλεῖν ἑτέραις γλώσσαις καθὼς τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐδίδου ἀποφθέγγεσθαι αὐτοῖς. There is much controversy over what actually happened on this occasion. An effort must be made to determine what in fact took place so that it can be ascertained what sort of activity resulted from the 'filling' with the Spirit.

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[1]See K. Lake and H.J. Cadbury, The Beginnings of Christianity, Ed. F.J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1933), IV, 8.

Of course, this undertaking assumes that the author of Acts was in the position to say what happened. In other words, it assumes that he had some relevant information. It also assumes that he wanted to tell his readers what happened. If one does not make those assumptions, then he will probably regard any attempt to find out what happened as basically misdirected. Ernst Haenchen regards Luke more as a fascinating narrator than as an historian,[1] and he does not think that Acts is based on extensive sources.[2] To him Acts is Luke's composition, "... a composition which at times appears almost to create ex nihilo."[3] It is not surprising, therefore, that Haenchen regards the Pentecost story of Acts 2 as a Lucan creation composed with the aim in mind of depicting the coming of the Spirit in an unforgettable way for his readers and,

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[1] E. Haenchen, 'The Book of Acts as Source Material for the History of Early Christianity,' Studies in Luke-Acts, Ed. L.E. Keck and J.L. Martyn (Nashville, New York: Abingdon Press, 1966), p. 260.

[2] See p. 16 n.2 above.

[3] Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, p. 49.

at the same time, of 'getting over' the meaning of the event to them.[1] However, it has been seen that there is a considerable amount of scholarly opinion favouring the idea that Luke drew upon sources for much of Acts.[2] It has also been argued that Luke tried to produce reputable history and that he succeeded in doing so.[3] On these bases, the present writer feels justified in trying to determine what happened on the particular Day of Pentecost which is in question.

Kirsopp Lake discusses this passage.[4] He suggests that Luke used a written source for this passage which spoke of 'normal' glossolalia. Luke chose to see in this a reference to 'xenolalia' instead of normal glossolalia (which Lake defines as ecstatic speech which becomes more and more ecstatic until it becomes unintelligible). He then had to create the story of the "pious visitors" in order to have someone to

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[1] Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, p. 173.

[2] See p. 16 n.2 above.

[3] See pp. 18-22 above.

[4] K. Lake, The Beginnings of Christianity, V, 118ff.

interpret the tongues. (Lake sees the interpretation of normal tongues in the following way: "But there were sometimes a few in the congregation who believed that they did understand [the ecstatic speech] , and they interpreted to the rest what they had heard.") This reworking by Luke of his sources breaks down, according to Lake, because (a) the charge of drunkenness indicates that the disciples did not speak in understandable languages, (b) Peter, in his sermon, does not mention the miracle of the interpretation of tongues, and (c) it is unlikely that a non-Christian would think he could understand the tongue-speaking Christian.

A consultation of a lexicon in an effort to fix the meaning of ἑτέραις γλώσσαις does not advance the discussion. The primary meaning of γλῶσσα is "tongue", but the contexts in which the word appears are capable of modifying this meaning. In the passage in question, γλῶσσα is a technical term which can mean either 'antiquated', foreign', 'unintelligible,' 'mysterious' utterances, or 'glossolalia'-- a speaking in marvelous,

heavenly languages.[1] In their treatment of ἕτερος, Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich say, "Ac 2:4 may mean either speak with different (even other than their own) tongues or speak in a foreign language."[2]

Let us now look at Lake's argument more closely. He raises three points in order to show that Luke's source could not have mentioned xenolalia, but they are unable to carry the weight he wishes to put on them. First, the charge of drunkenness does not preclude the disciples' having spoken foreign languages. This was obviously a less than orderly happening. Physical activity reminiscent of the inebriate (eg. prostration) could easily have occurred. Furthermore, the sight of a large group of people speaking several foreign languages simultaneously would be enough to arouse the charge of drunkenness. This charge does not rule out the disciples' speaking in foreign languages.

Secondly, Lake points out that Peter does not mention the miracle of interpretation in his sermon.

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[1]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 161.

[2]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 315.

The simplest explanation of this is that no miracle of interpretation was required. People from various parts of the empire understood naturally the dialects of their homelands. Even if there had been a miracle of interpretation, if Peter stood up quickly to provide an Apology (as the passage implies) there would not have been time for him to have been informed of this phenomenon.

Thirdly, it would not be difficult for a non-Christian to understand a tongue-speaking Christian, if the Christian was speaking in the unbeliever's native dialect.

F.W. Beare has also made comments upon Acts 2:4 which require consideration. He states that there is probably a kernel of historical fact in the Lucan record, but that details such as the sound like wind, the appearance of what looked like fire, and the foreign languages are to be regarded as symbolic.[1] In view of the fact that we are primarily interested

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[1] F. W. Beare, 'Speaking with Tongues: a Critical Survey of the New Testament Evidence,' JBL 83(1964) 236f.

in the nature of the glossolalia mentioned in this passage, we shall consider only Beare's arguments which are intended to show that it was symbolic.

First, he contends that to think of tongues as foreign languages, as is done in this passage,

> ...is not at all in accord with what we read else where about the "speaking in tongues," where it is taken to mean some unintelligible utterance which does not involve the mind of the speaker at all and may even give outsiders the impression that he is mad,[1]

and therefore, Beare continues, "This feature of our story is also symbolical!"[2] Beare does not tell us where the "elsewhere" to which he refers is, but it seems justifiable to assume that he means the writings of the Apostle Paul.[3] If this is correct, then it would appear that Beare does have grounds for his contention. Paul in fact does seem to think of tongues as ecstatic speech which is naturally incomprehensible.[4] The point of the argument is that this dissimilarity between

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[1] Beare, p. 237.

[2] Beare, ibid.

[3] Beare, p. 243.

[4] 1 Cor. 14:23.

glossolalia as presented by Luke and glossolalia as seen elsewhere (Paul's writings?) shows that in the former case the tongues are not to be regarded as having actually occurred, but are to be thought of as symbolical. Even if two types of glossolalia appear in the NT, one may ask why, therefore, must one of them be regarded as symbolic? What a priori factors preclude one's thinking that there were two types of glossolalia, one naturally intelligible and one naturally unintelligible? In the opinion of the present writer, such factors do not exist. In addition to this, while one type of glossolalia appears in Acts and another type in 1 Cor., no other NT writer besides Luke and Paul mentions the experience. This means that we do not have a third source which might indicate whether or not one of the two types of glossolalia was more typical of the Early Church's experience than the other.

Secondly, Beare states,

> ..., there was no need for so many different languages; and Jews born abroad would not normally be taught the language of Elamites (if it still was spoken anywhere) or of Persians or Libyans and so forth. They would speak a dialect of

Aramaic, or the common Greek, or perhaps both.[1]

This statement arouses two questions: what languages might one expect these Jews to have known? and what would have been the purpose of foreign languages in which Luke says the disciples spoke on the Day of Pentecost?

In answer to the first of these questions, it may be readily said that the people involved could have been expected to know a form of Aramaic and/or Greek. In addition, at least some of them could have been expected to have been able to speak and understand the local dialect of the regions from which they came. A. Neubauer says,

> The Jews, although holding fast to the Hebrew language, and even considering it holy, easily adapted themselves to the languages spoken by the nations among which they were exiled, or had voluntarily emigrated.[2]

It is certain then that some diaspora Jews did learn languages native to the areas in which they lived. There is evidence that some Jews who lived in Rome learned

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[1]Beare, p. 237.

[2]A. Neubauer, 'On Non-Hebrew Languages Used by the Jews,' The Jewish Quarterly Review 4(1891)9.

Latin. In a Jewish catacomb on the Via Appia, a catacomb which was in use from the first century A.D. until the end of the third,[1] 71 of 195 inscriptions (or 36.4%) are in Latin.[2] Evidence also exists which suggests that Jews of the Diaspora learned other regional languages as well as Latin. S.W. Baron points out that some rabbis permitted Esther to be read in an Egyptian dialect (Giptit),[3] and draws attention to Persian loan words which are to be found in the Talmud.[4] Neubauer says these Persian words prove that the Jews were writing in Persian and then goes on to assert that this is substantiated by the fact that the Jews

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[1] H.J. Leon, The Jews in Ancient Rome (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1960), p. 66.

[2] Leon, p. 77. However, Latin inscriptions are not as common in other Jewish catacombs in Rome. The lowest percentage of Latin inscriptions is in the catacomb on the Via Nomentana, where only 4 of 63 inscriptions (or 6%) are in Latin. See also E.R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period, (Bollingen Series, 37)(New York:Pantheon Books, 1953), II, 122.

[3] S.W. Baron, Christian Era: The First Five Centuries, (A Social and Religious History of the Jews, 2) (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1958[2]), p. 147

[4] Baron, p. 405 n. 38.

produced two Persian translations of the Bible.[1]

Therefore, there is proof that Jews of the diaspora did learn some local dialects and there is direct evidence that they had done so in three regions mentioned in Acts 2:9 & 10: Persia, Egypt, and Rome. consequently, it is quite possible that some of the Jews in Jerusalem would have been able to understand Christians who were speaking the languages listed in Acts 2:9 & 10.

The second question (regarding the purpose of glossolalia in this case) is more difficult to answer. If, as Beare seems to suggest, the author of Acts wanted the reader to think that the languages were given to facilitate the proclamation of the Christian message, they would have been quite pointless. The preaching could have been done just as well in Aramaic and/or Greek. However, if the languages were meant to be a miracle which would incline people towards the preaching of the Gospel, they would have a valid raison d'etre.

Thirdly, Beare asked, "..., how could such a multitude distinguish one language from another if

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[1]Neubauer, p. 10.

so many were speaking different languages at the same time?"[1] Any number of explanations may be given in answer to this question: one or other of the people speaking may have spoken louder than the others at some time; at some time several of the people involved may have been momentarily silent allowing some languages to be picked out; some of the speakers would be closer to some of the listeners than others. All of these explanations are speculative; but they are sufficient to show that the multiplicity of languages which may have been spoken does not preclude the hearing and recognizing of at least some of them. These three arguments put forward by Beare are not able to support the contention that the tongues of which the author of Acts speaks in chapter 2 were merely symbolic.

In trying to understand what happened on the Day of Pentecost, one must not overlook the possibility that the obvious interpretation of the passage is the correct one. It is possible that on this occasion

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[1]Beare, p. 237.

some of the disciples, being 'filled' with the Spirit, began to speak using languages they had not studied, some, at least, of which were recognizable foreign languages and were naturally understood. If this interpretation is accepted, Acts 2:4 presents the ability to speak unlearned, foreign languages as being one of the results of being 'filled' with the Spirit.

The second passage to be presented is Acts 4:8. Here Peter πλησθεὶς Πνεύματος Ἁγίου spoke on behalf of the Christian community before Jewish elders. The address he delivered (Acts 4:8-12) was particularly powerful. Bruce states that this must be regarded as a special moment of inspiration.[1] In this passage, being 'filled with the Spirit' is seen to result in a powerful address delivered in the normal dialect of Jerusalem.

Acts 4:31 is similar in nature to the passage just cited. In Acts 4:31, the Church prayed and ...., καὶ ἐπλήσθησαν ἅπαντες τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ....

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[1]Bruce, p. 120.

The result of this experience was that the Church was able to continue its missionary preaching with power in spite of the danger it faced.[1]

Acts 6:8-10 provides the fourth case in point. This passage uses the adjective πλήρης of Stephen.[2] He was full of faith, of the Holy Spirit, of grace, and of power (πλήρη πίστεως καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου... χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως --6:5 and 8). As a result of this, Stephen was able to perform τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μέγαλα(6:8). Lake and Cadbury assert that this is a common OT phrase meaning miracle.[3]

In Acts 10:44-48, ἐπέπεσεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸν λόγον. The passages considered previously have spoken of a 'filling', whereas this passage presents a 'coming upon' with the result that some spoke with tongues.

Acts 11:24 speaks of Barnabas as being ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πλήρης Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ πίστεως.

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[1]See Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, p. 228.

[2]See p. 48f. above.

[3]Lake and Cadbury, The Beginnings of Christianity, IV, 28.

This characteristic state of being 'filled' with the Spirit resulted in a generally dynamic life. The implication is that the ὄχλος ἱκανός was brought to the Lord through Barnabas' work.

Paul also, according to Luke, experienced empowering by the Holy Spirit. In Acts 13:9-11 πλησθεὶς Πνεύματος Ἁγίου Paul pronounced judgment on the magician of Cyprus. This particular empowering was accompanied by a miraculous act.

The passages which have been considered serve to bear out the statement that Luke associated the Holy Spirit with power. The Holy Spirit enabled the Early Church to what would normally have been impossible or to do unusually well what could normally be done. This empowering showed itself in different ways: on some occasions in empowered speech, either tongues or powerful oratory; on others, in miraculous deeds.

Preparing to write his history, Luke pondered over the short life of the Church, and he came to see it as heavily indebted to the Holy Spirit. Consequently, in his account of the Church he emphasized the Holy Spirit's activity. He portrayed the Spirit as

a Power coming from Christ, breaking 'occasionally', unpredictably, dynamically into the lives of individuals causing them to speak and act with miraculous power, and, in a very real way, guiding the activities of the fledgling religious community. It should be noted how this guidance was given: a prophet would be laid hold of by God and the divine directive would be pronounced (see Acts 13:2 and 21:8-11).[1]

This concept of the Spirit as a Power breaking upon men is not restricted to Lucan materials. As G.W.H. Lampe says,

> Although the activity of the divine Spirit is the essential theme of his writings, St. Luke has little to say concerning the nature of that Spirit...that is not already found in the Old Testament.[2]

What, then, was the Old Testament concept of the Spirit?

In the Old Testament, 'Spirit' is God in action in human life. It is portrayed as entering, resting

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[1] See Haenchen, The Acts of the Apostles, p. 93.

[2] Lampe, p. 160.

upon, laying hold of, lifting up a man.[1] This involvement in human affairs frequently showed the Spirit as an "external, violent impulse".[2] The Elijah and Elisha stories illustrate this. Furthermore, in the Old Testament, "The divine dynamism may be discerned and experienced, but it is unsearchable".[3] Men knew when the Spirit was moving upon them, but they could not perceive the logic that stood behind its doing so.

The similarities between the Old Testament's idea of the Spirit and Luke's concept are readily observable, but there are differences. In the Age of the Church, with which Luke was concerned, the whole Church is the bearer of the Spirit.[4] Every member of the Church was susceptible to the moving of the Spirit.

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[1] F.W. Dillstone, 'Biblical Doctrine of the Holy Spirit,' Theology Today 3(1946/47)489. See G. Holscher's study of prophecy among the Israelites, Die Profeten: Untersuchungen zur Religionsgeschichte Israels (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1914)--especially pp. 24,25, and 31.

[2] Winstanley, p. 3.

[3] F. Baumgärtel, 'πνεῦμα, πνευματικός, B. Spirit in the OT,' Theological Dictionary of the New Testament, Ed. G. Friedrich, Trans. G.W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, 1968), VI, 366.

[4] Schweizer, p. 412.

In fact possession of the Spirit seems to have been very important to the primitive Church. Regarding admission to the Church of Gentiles, F.C. Synge says,

> Nothing would satisfy save the sign which the apostles themselves had been given at Pentecost ....The signs which accompanied conversion, which accomplished admission to the Church, and which were taken as proof of admissibility were ecstatic utterance.[1]

Synge's comment points out a second difference between the activity of the Spirit as experienced by men of the Old Testament and by the New Testament Church, according to Luke's account. The phenomenon of tongue-speaking, which is important in the Acts of the Apostles[2], does not appear in the Old Testament canonical literature.

Prior to producing his two volumes, Luke had come to interpret the Church's development as attributable to a large extent to the Holy Spirit. Much of the Spirit's work was carried out charismatically as He 'came upon' or 'filled' men, thus enabling them to

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[1]'The Holy Spirit in the Gospels and Acts,' The Church Quarterly Review 120(1935)212.

[2]See Acts 2:4, 10:46, and 19:6.

perform supernaturally empowered deeds. These charismatic outbreaks occurred in different places: Jerusalem, Caesarea, Ephesus, Antioch, and perhaps Samaria. It is to be remembered also that Paul's companion on his second missionary journey was Silas, a man known as a prophet (Acts 15:32). It is at least possible that he carried this activity over into his new role. Charismatic experiences may have occurred wherever the missionaries were able to establish Christian communities.

The Pauline View of Charismata

The Pauline Corpus[1] is pervaded by an atmosphere which differs markedly from that sensed in Luke-Acts. 'The Apostle to the Gentiles' was an ad hoc writer. The passages in his epistles which are relevant to a study of the charismata are cradled in the fervid thought of debate and counsel. There is no

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[1]The thirteen epistles which traditionally have been regarded as making up the Pauline Corpus can be grouped in three categories with regard to authenticity: (1) Those which are universally accepted as Pauline--Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians; (2) Those generally regarded as Pauline but which have had their authenticity questioned--Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Philemon; (3) Those the authorship of which has been seriously questioned--Ephesians, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus. For full discussions of the authenticity of the Pauline epistles see W.G. Kümmel, Revising Ed., P. Feine and J. Behm: Introduction to the New Testament. Trans. A.J. Mattill, Jr. (Nashville, New York: Abingdon Press, 1964[14]), p. 178, D. Guthrie, New Testament Introduction (Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-Varsity Press, 1970[3]), pp. 479-508, 526, 551-555, 567-575, 584-622, and 638f, A.H. McNeile, An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament, Revised by C.S.C. Williams (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1953[2]), J.N.D. Kelly, A Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1963), and E.E. Ellis, Paul's Use of the Old Testament (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1957). I regard all thirteen epistles as being authentic.

detachment whatsoever to be found in Paul's writings. He was no historian calmly trying to grasp the meaning of the Church. He was a pastor, and his letters reveal him as a man actively engaged in the care of souls. These letters contain his arguments as he grappled with men and ideas that threatened the Christian Faith as he understood it. They carry his instructions and exhortations to new-born Christian communities--most of which he himself had guided through parturition--each letter addressing itself to specific situations.

From Paul's writings, the Holy Spirit emerges playing such an important role that F.W. Beare is able to call Paul "the great theologian of the Holy Spirit ...."[1] This fact is reflected in the statistics that Winstanley compiled.[2] As depicted by Paul, the Holy Spirit is primarily concerned with the spiritual lives of individual believers, bearing witness to the believer's salvation, and directing his spiritual

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[1]Beare, p. 240.

[2]See p. 12 n.2. above.

development. Some of the passages in Paul's epistles which speak of the Spirit in this role are as follows:

> Gal.4:6 - And because you are sons, God has sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, "Abba! Father!"
>
> 2 Cor.1:21 & 22 - But it is God who establishes us with you in Christ, and has commissioned us; he has put his seal upon us and given us his Spirit in our hearts as a guarantee.
>
> Rom.8:12-16 - So then, brethren, we are debtors, not to the flesh, to live according to the flesh - for if you live according to the flesh you will die, but if by the Spirit you put to death the deeds of the body you will live. For all who are led by the Spirit of God are sons of God. For you did not receive the spirit of slavery to fall back into fear, but you have received the spirit of sonship. When we cry, "Abba! Father!" it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God,...
>
> Gal.5:22 & 23 - But the fruit of the Spirit islove, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness, self-control; against such there is no law.

These passages suffice to illustrate the predominant role in which the Spirit appears in Paul's writings. It is this quiet, unobtrusive activity of the Spirit in the life of each believer which receives Paul's greatest emphasis.

While it is indubitable that this individual-

orientated activity is the Spirit's chief responsibility in Paul's writings, it is also the case that numerous passages appear in the Pauline Corpus presenting the Holy Spirit as functioning in an apparently quite different way. Terms of importance to Luke, such as 'tongues,' and 'prophecy' are connected with the Spirit by Paul also. Paul also talks about 'occasional', unique, dynamic manifestations of the Spirit's presence, and by doing so, seems to present the Holy Spirit as playing two quite dissimilar roles. On one hand, He works quietly and constructively within each believer's life, and, on the other, He is the source of dramatic, potentially disruptive phenomena. Lake and Cadbury state that the Early Church held two incompatible theories regarding the Spirit. First, the Holy Spirit has something to do with the conversion and maturation of each believer, establishing a permanent relationship with him; and, second, the Christian receives periodic gifts of the Spirit for specific purposes.[1] In fact, this apparent dichotomy

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[1]Lake and Cadbury, IV, 93.

appears within the writings of one man: Paul. We must now attempt to determine whether or not this dichotomy is real. Does Paul actually present two incompatible views with regard to the Holy Spirit's activity?

The key to the answer to this question seems to lie in Paul's concept of the "Body of Christ": an idea which is very important in his writings. A brief examination of this concept will commence by making reference to 1 Cor. 12:13. Here Paul says that all believers are brought into one body. In Rom. 12:5, he states that all believers are united with Christ and one another. This is, of course, a spiritual, perhaps mystical union.[1] Paul calls upon the analogy with the physical body in order to emphasize the idea that the Church is not to be regarded as a multiplicity of individuals, but as one completely integrated,

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[1]See A. Deissmann, St. Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History, Trans. R.M. Strachan (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1922). passim. See also the discussion of the phrase "the Body of Christ" by E. Best (One Body in Christ (London: S.P.C.K., 1955))and E. Schweizer (The Church as the Body of Christ (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1964).)

living organism. The analogy is carried even further, when in Ephesians 4:16, it is stated that this "Body", in conjunction with its Head, Christ, maintains and nourishes itself. This leads one to ask how this process of self-nourishment and self-maintenance is carried out. The answer seems to lie in the charismata.[1] I suggest that the Holy Spirit who in some sense resides within the 'Body of Christ', the Church, guides and develops the life of this unified organism by means of the charismata. Herein lies a possible explanation for the supposed split in Pauline pneumatology, which on one hand features the Spirit as working unobtrusively within the believer's life and on the other presents Him as the source of occasional, highly unique experiences. As the Holy Spirit resides within the individual believer and guides his spiritual growth, so He resides within the 'Body of Christ,' guiding its development, and doing so by means of the charismata, some of which are very dramatic and productive of extra-

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[1]Here this term is being used in a broader sense than in the rest of the study (See p. 5ff. above), having reference to all the phenomena discussed in Rom. 12 and 1 Cor. 12-14.

ordinary behaviour.[1] The Spirit's influencing individuals from within and shaping the Church by means of the charismata are not conflicting ideas in Paul's mind. On the contrary, the latter may be regarded as an extension of the former. There is no serious dichotomy in Paul's thought regarding the Holy Spirit.

We must now focus our attention upon the Pauline charismata in an attempt to become better acquainted with the means by which the Holy Spirit acts within the Church. χάρισμα means a freely and graciously bestowed gift. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich state that it is used "Of spiritual gifts in a special sense Rom. 12:6; I Cor. 12:4,9,28,30,31,"[2] and in doing so point to two passages in which lists of charismata are contained. It will be helpful to arrange these lists in parallel columns.

Rom. 12:6-8	1 Cor. 12:8-10
Prophecy	Word of wisdom

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[1]The guidance of the Church's life by the Spirit is seen clearly in Acts also: 8:29; 10:19; 11:12; 16:6f: 24:4&11; 23:9f.

[2]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 887.

Service	Word of knowledge
Teaching	Faith
Exhortation	Gifts of healing
Giving	Miracles
Extending care	Prophecy
Acts of mercy	The distinguishing of spirits
	Speaking in tongues
	The interpretation of tongues

There are three facts to be noticed about these lists. First of all, the nature of the components within each varies widely. For example, the list in Romans 12 opens with prophecy (προφητεία). This word conveys the idea of some kind of divine influence which is exerted upon a man causing him to speak in a certain way. It is generally regarded as a highly intense, if not traumatic religious experience. However, this list also includes service (διακονία), giving (μεταδίδωμι), extending care (προΐστημι), and acts of mercy (ἐλεέω) - all of which, while they can be regarded as religious behaviour, seem to apply to social action, i.e., ministering to the physical

needs of people. They are not generally regarded as intense religious experiences. The list in 1 Cor. 12 presents the less demonstrative gifts, the Word of Wisdom (λόγος σοφίας) and the Word of Knowledge (λόγος γνώσεως) first. These gifts look as though they should apply to the mental processes and be the products of a man's thought. However, Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, in their treatment of γνῶσις , say,

> Although here (Col.2:3) γνῶσις and σοφία are almost synonymous, Paul distinguishes between them in I Cor.12:8; he places γνῶσις between ἀποκάλυψις and προφητεία 14:6, and beside μυστήρια 13:2, and thus invests the term with the significance of supernatural mystical knowledge - a meaning which the word has in Hellenistic Greek, especially in the mystery cults.[1]

To this may be added a statement by Winstanley that, "λόγος has an unique shade of meaning here; the faculty of speech and argument which usually comes by training characterized by σοφία , γνῶσις , arises from το πνεῦμα , ch.ii.13, 6."[2] The exact nature of these two gifts seems to be uncertain, but they do not seem to be included in the sphere of religious

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[1] Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 163.

[2] Winstanley, p. 49.

exuberance. Standing in contrast to these is the gift of Tongues (γένη γλωσσῶν). Like prophecy, this is an intense religious experience. It has been regarded as taking place in an ecstatic state.[1]

Secondly, the components of these lists are not precise terms and do not appear to have been intended as such. Does prophecy always occur as a message delivered at the moment of inspiration or does the actual delivery sometimes follow after a revelation? What sorts of acts are covered by the terms διακονία and ἐλεέω ? Is πίστις as a charisma to be distinguished from πίστις when it is not specifically called a charisma? Does not the gift of miracles (ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων) include everything which could be classified as a miracle? It would appear that these lists include almost every sort of Christian experience and behaviour. In view of this, perhaps a charisma is to be defined as a divine enabling given to a Christian which makes it possible for him to minister to a need -

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[1] R.H. Gundry, 'Ecstatic Utterance, ' JThSt (NS) 17(1966)299-307.

a need which may be spiritual or physical. A charisma may be dramatic, demonstrative and attention-drawing or it may pass virtually unnoticed.

Thirdly, one may not assume that the lists which Paul gave are to be regarded as exhaustive. Perhaps all he would have said if pressed, and possibly all he meant to say by the lists he gave is, "These are some of the means I have seen by which the Holy Spirit has carried out His work within the Body of Christ."

The overall impression gained from the lists is one of fluidity, and this ought not to be surprising. Rom. 12:6 and 1 Cor. 12:6 emphasize that the charismata are rooted firmly in the Godhead. In view of this, it is probably wise to leave the definitions rather loose, because we are unable fully to analyse or to predict the actions of God.

As the search for an understanding of Paul's charismatic passages continues, it becomes very evident that Paul placed great emphasis on the importance of the charismata, which is completely understandable if he regarded them as the means by which the Holy Spirit carried out His work in the 'Body of Christ'.

C.K. Barrett points out that, in 1 Cor. 12:31, Christian "enthusiasm" is neither attacked nor defended, but presupposed and analysed.[1] H. Conzelmann adds that Paul agreed with the Corinthians that the ecstatic phenomena (if that is what the charismata were) were in fact, manifestations of the Holy Spirit.[2]

While these statements are true, they seem to understate Paul's thought regarding the charismata to a certain degree. Not only does Paul assume and endorse the presence of the charismata, but he also encourages their cultivation. In 1 Cor. 12:31, he says, "Desire earnestly (ζηλοῦτε)[3] the best gifts

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[1]C.K. Barrett, A Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968), p. 279.

[2]H. Conzelmann, Der Erster Brief an die Korinther (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969), p. 241.

[3]G. Iber, 'Zum Verständnis von I Cor.12:31,' ZNW 54(1963)49, argues that ζηλοῦτε should be regarded as a description ('you are seeking') of the state the Corinthians were in--seeking the dramatic gifts to the neglect of the less dramatic ones and to the detriment of the community--rather than as an exhortation ('seek'). Two of Iber's main considerations in support of this are: (1) in 1 Cor.12:12-27, Paul is warning against looking down on the less dramatic gifts and he would not follow this with an exhortation to seek gifts; (2) 1 Cor.12:31

(τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ μείζονα)."[1] Paul's main concern is with the best gifts, and he is saying that these are the ones which should mark the Corinthians' lives, but the use of ζηλόω is of interest. It means 'strive for', 'desire', 'exert oneself earnestly for the possession of'. The Corinthians are being urged to make 'the best gifts' a part of their lives. The importance with which Paul regarded the charismata is seen again in 1 Cor.14:12. In this passage, he says,

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presents the way of love as being quite opposite to the desire for gifts. How could Paul say the way of love is the best way possible and at the same time encourage the pursuit of gifts? The first of these considerations may be countered by saying that Paul's desire to protect the less dramatic gifts does not necessarily preclude his exhorting the Corinthians to seek all the gifts. With reference to the second consideration, one may say that, in fact, the gifts and 'love' are not regarded as opposites in 1 Cor.12-14. In 1 Cor.13, Paul presents his ideal--the gifts functioning in an atmosphere of love (See p. 89f. below). An alternative to Iber's view is Conzelmann's suggestion (Der Erster Brief an die Korinther, p. 254.) that the imperative shows that Paul been criticizing not the Gifts, but the Corinthians' impression of themselves.

[1]For a discussion of Paul's criterion for evaluating the spiritual gifts see p. 88f. below. The 'best gifts' would seem to be those which enable a man to minister most effectively in a given situation.

"So with yourselves, since you are zealous for spiritual matters (ζηλωταί ἐστε πνευμάτων), strive to excel (ζητεῖτε ἵνα περισσεύητε) for the edification of the Church." He tells the Corinthians to seek an abundance of the charismata in order to benefit the Church.[1]

This feeling on the part of Paul is obvious also in 1 Thess.5:19 & 20. There the terse exhortations are - τὸ Πνεῦμα μὴ σβέννυτε, προφητείας μὴ ἐξουθενεῖτε. Believers sensing the need to employ the charismata should not be suppressed,[2] the implied reason being that the charismata are important to the life of the Church.

In this vein, it must be noted that Paul did not envision an imminent cessation of the charismata (see 1 Cor.13:8-12). Barrett suggests that prophecy, tongues, and knowledge (v.8) all make available

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[1] For a discussion of the purpose of the charismata as Paul understood it see p. 88 below.

[2] J.E. Frame, 'Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians,' International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T.& T. Clark, 1912), p. 205.

previously unknown information about God.[1] At the 'End', man will know God perfectly as God now knows man (v. 12), [2] and then prophecy, tongues, and knowledge will become unnecessary. Jean Héring strengthens this by saying that prophecy, etc., shall cease when the Lord returns, but not at some earlier point in history.[3] Therefore, in Paul's mind it seems as though the charismata were to retain their importance until the Parousia.

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[1]Barrett, 1 Corinthians, p. 305.

[2]Barrett, 1 Corinthians, p. 307.

[3]J. Héring, Le Premiere Épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens, (Commentaire du Nouveau Testament, 7)(Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé S.A., 1948), p. 120. (ET, The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians. Trans. A.W. Heathcote and P.J. Allcock. London: Epworth Press, 1962.) E. Stauffer (Theological Dictionary of the New Testament Ed. G. Kittel, Trans. Ed. G. W. Bromiley (Grand Rapids:Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1964), I, 52) and H. Conzelmann (Der Erster Brief an die Korinther, p. 267) join Barrett and Héring in seeing these verses as referring to the Eschaton. However, N. Johansson ('I Cor. XIII and I Cor. XIV,' NTS 11 (1964) 383-392) thinks that the eschatological interpretation of 13:9-;3 is "one-sided and in part inaccurate." He seems to suggest that 'that which is perfect' comes as a Christian matures, and that the mirror and the 'seeing dimly' have reference to the immature Christian. However, the weight of scholarly opinion suggests that the passage in question is best regarded in an eschatological sense.

From the above considerations, it is apparent that Paul had a high regard for the charismata. He never forbade their being exercised, but, on the contrary, encouraged their employment, seeking to impose upon this employment only such restrictions as would enable them to function at peak efficiency. This leads directly to the next point of major importance in Paul's thought regarding the charismata.

Paul, being completely persuaded of the importance of the charismata, took great pains to prevent their being perverted in any way. F.-J. Leenhardt, commenting on Rom. 12:6, says, "L'apôtre veut que l'exercice des charismes se réalise conformement aux graces qui soutiennent (v.6). On ne doit être ni en dessous, ni dessus, ni négligent, ni prétentieux."[1] Leenhardt clearly expresses the desire for a balance, which lay behind Paul's words on how the charismata should function. Two churches to which he wrote -

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[1]F.-J. Leenhardt, L'Épître de Saint Paul aux Romains, (Commentaire du Nouveau Testament, 6) (Paris: Delachaux & Niestlé A.A., 1957), p. 175. (ET, The Epistle to the Romans. London:Lutterworth Press, 1961.)

that in Corinth and that in Thessalonica - present attitudes towards the charismata upon which Paul had to make comment.

In Corinth, the problem seems to have been an excessive desire for the gift of tongues[1] to the extent that the worship of the church was disrupted (see 1 Cor. 12:16-26). Desiring to keep the charismata functioning up to their potential, Paul (1) specifies what their purpose is; (2) provides a criterion for evaluating them; (3) presents the ideal way in which they should operate, and (4) gives specific regulations to guide their exercise.

The purpose of the charismata will become evident by considering 1 Cor. 12:7 and 1 Cor. 14:12. The former reads 'The manifestation of the Spirit is given to each in order to benefit all (πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον).' Exactly who is to benefit is seen in the second passage cited, 1 Cor. 14:12. In this passage, the

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[1] John of Damascus, In Epistolam ad Corinthios I (PMG, 95), col. 664 gives an interesting explanation for the fact that the gift of tongues seems to have been thought to be the superior charisma. He suggests that this happened because tongues was the first charisma to be given, i.e., on the Day of Pentecost.

Corinthians are told to abound with charismata so that the Church may be edified (πρὸς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας). The primary purpose of the charismata, then, is the 'edification' of 'the Body of Christ,' the Church. The same idea is found in Rom.12:3-8, where Paul, having spoken of the 'Body', enumerates several charismata with the obvious meaning that they are to be used to contribute to the life of the Body. It is also to be noted that the charismata were thought to be available to all Christians.[1]

The criterion for evaluating the charismata follows from the purpose for which they were given. Since the charismata were given for the edification of the Church, the degree of edification which is made possible through a particular gift in a particular situation determines the value of that gift in that situation. In 1 Cor.14, Paul is discussing the relative value of prophecy and tongues, and he sees the scales tipping in favour of the former, because

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[1]For a discussion of this point and the later tendency for the charismata to be associated with ecclesiastical office see pp. 138, 151, 295f, and 308f.below.

by means of it, the whole church may be edified directly (1 Cor.14:4 & 5), i.e., there is no need, as in the case of the gift of tongues, for recourse to a 'companion' charisma before prophecy can be of general benefit.

Paul proceeds to present what he thinks would be the ideal manner in which the charismata might operate. This he does in 1 Cor.13. This chapter is organically connected with chapters 12 and 14.[1] The subject, in it as in them, is the operation of the charismata. In chapter 13, Paul is not setting up ἀγάπη as an alternative to the charismata. Sweet comments,

> ...it is worth insisting that Paul does not call love a χάρισμα. Certainly it is given by God, and Paul expresses this by calling it

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[1]This is in opposition to J. Héring, who says, "Nous venons de voir que ce chapitre interrompt manifestament la discussion sur les dons spirituels" (p. 115), and thinks that its present position is due to the work of a redactor. J.P.M. Sweet ('A Sign for Unbelievers: Paul's Attitude to Glossolalia,' NTS 13 (1966-67)240-257.) argues that chapters 12-14 are a closely-knit unit. See also G. Bornkamm, Early Christian Experience, Trans. P.L. Hammer (New York and Evanston: Harper & Row, 1969), p. 165.

> καρπὸς τοῦ πνεύματος (Gal.v.22). He uses the term χάρισμα τοῦ πνεύματος for activities and powers in which Christians may differ, not for qualities which all Christians should possess or at least cultivate. Love and glossolalia, like mercy and sacrifice, are words of different logical level, and it is misleading to treat them as alternatives.[1]

What Paul does do is present a 'still better way' (καθ' ὑπερβόλην ὁδόν - 1 Cor.12:31), which may be regarded as the operation of the charismata within an atmosphere of love (ἀγάπη).

While dealing with the subject of the charismata in his letter to the Corinthians, Paul lastly lays down some specific regulations to guide the manifestations of tongues and prophecy (1 Cor.14:27-33). These regulations may be seen as safeguards to ensure that these charismata will do the greatest amount of good possible.[2]

The church in Thessalonica presents an attitude towards the charismata which was diametrically opposed to that in evidence in Corinth. In 1 Thess. 5:19 & 20, Paul writes to the Thessalonians urging

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[1]Sweet, p. 254.

[2]Sweet, ibid.

them neither to stifle nor to suppress (σβέννυμι) the Spirit nor to disregard prophecy, rejecting it with contempt (ἐξουθενέω). The meaning of these exhortations must be that the charismatics in the Thessalonian congregation were to be allowed to deliver their messages. The condition Paul was attempting to correct by these exhortations is seen in the tenses and moods of the verbs involved: σβέννυμι and ἐξουθενέω appear in the present imperative, negated by μή, rather than in the aorist subjunctive. This implies that the Thessalonians were already reacting against their charismatics.[1] Paul gave these exhortations in order to stop their depriving the church of a source of vital strength.

It has been argued above (p. 75ff.) that there is no contradiction between Paul's presenting the Spirit as superintending the spiritual development of individuals on one hand, and as standing behind the charismata--some of which may be called overt pneumatic activity--on the other. The Holy Spirit

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[1]B. Rigaux, Les Épîtres aux Thessaloniciens, (Études Biblique)(Paris: J.Gabalda and Co.,1956), p. 591

is concerned with nurturing spiritual growth, be it within an individual or within 'the Body of Christ'. In the case of the former, He works quietly and unobtrusively, while in the case of the latter, the charismata are the means by which He carries out His purposes. If this analysis is acceptable, it makes more readily understandable some of Paul's ideas about the charismata. If these are the means by which the Holy Spirit operates in the Body of Christ, then the diversity of nature and the lack of precision which mark Paul's lists of the charismata need not be surprising: who would presume to compose a definitive catalogue of the ways in which the Holy Spirit acts in the Church? Furthermore, if the charismata are the means by which the Spirit acts in the Church, then one is able to see easily the aptness of the strong emphasis which Paul places upon them and of his desire to prevent their becoming perverted in any way. As the activity of the Holy Spirit is vital to the spiritual life of each believer, so it is vital to the life of the Church.

There are two other charismatic roles in which

the Spirit appears in Paul's writings, both of which receive little more than a mention. The first is alluded to in Rom.15:18 & 19, where the Spirit is spoken of as empowering Paul's ministry. This idea is very similar to Luke's frequent reference to the Spirit as being a Force which energizes and vitalizes Christian service. The second of these less frequently mentioned roles is seen in 1 Cor.2:4 and 1 Thess.1:5. In these passages, the power of the Spirit is said to have authenticated Paul's ministry.

Finally, let us again note that Paul makes specific reference to the charismata in three different communities: Rome, Corinth, and Thessalonica.

Charismata in the Non-Lucan and Non-Pauline Writings of the NT

When Luke-Acts and the Pauline Corpus are excepted, there are only three books in the NT which contain references to the charismata.[1] The first of these to be considered is 1 John. In 4:1-3,[2] reference is made to prophets, pointing out that it is necessary to discriminate among them and that so-called prophetic utterances must not be accepted uncritically as being necessarily true.[3] This concern about true

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[1] This term from here on will be used in the narrower sense, referring to overt pneumatic activity (See p. 5ff. above.) of which some of the Pauline charismata are manifestations.

[2] Beloved, do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see whether they are of God; for many false prophets have gone out into the world. By this you know the Spirit of God: every spirit which confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is of God, and every spirit which does not confess Jesus is not of God. This is the spirit of antichrist, of which you heard that it was coming, and now it is in the world already.

[3] A.E. Brooke, 'Johannine Epistles,' International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T.& T. Clark, 1912), p. 107

and false prophets implies that the author was living in an age when men claiming to be moved by the Spirit were appearing with some frequency.[1] Let it also be

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[1]Evidence clearly shows that prophecy and ecstasy were not confined to Christian circles during the first three centuries of our era. In his Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres, 55 (Trans. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker (LCL ed., 4)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1932), p. 419), Philo Judaeus (30 B.C.-50 A.D.) says that in ecstasy the god takes control of a man completely. When a man so possessed speaks it is really not he who is speaking, but rather it is the god who controls him. Minucius Felix (late second century) (Octavius, 7, 6, Trans. G.H. Rendall (LCL)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1960(1931), p. 333.) has his pagan disputant, Caecilius, mention non-Christian prophets. They speak having fallen under the control of a god (pleni et mixti deo). Plotinus (205-270 A.D.) gives a very exalted description of the union between a soul and a god (The Enneads, 6, 7:34 & 35, Trans. S. MacKenna, 1952^{2})). In addition to the comments made by these authors, A.D. Nock (Conversion (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933).) draws attention to two men who seem to have had prophetic powers: Apollonius of Tyana, who lived in the late first century (p. 196) and Alexander of Abunoteichus, who was active c. 150 A.D. (p. 93).

This information sheds light upon the fairly large number of prophets implied by 1 John 4:1-3. Society at large was conditioned to give credence to men who claimed to be speaking under divine inspiration. R. Reitzenstein says, "Kein Mensch behauptet, dass der Inhalt des fruhchristlichen ἐνθουσιασμός dem Heidentum entlehnt sei; aber bestreiten sollte man nicht länger, dass seine Form und Auffassung tatsächlich übernommen ist, so gut wie die Wundererwartungen. Es ist das Zeitgebundene, Äussere, das wir kennen und ruhig anerkennen sollten."(Die Hellenistischen Mysterien-religionen (Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1956 photocopy

noted that the test which the author lays down was to be applied to the prophet's message and not to the prophet's manner of living.[1] The Didache recommends both types of criterion.[2]

Another Johannine writing, the Apocalypse, provides material relevant to a study of the charismata. In Revelation 1:10, the author was 'in the Spirit' (ἐν Πνεύματι), and a vision followed. An ecstatic transportation follows 'being in the Spirit' (ἐν Πνεύματι) in 4:2. In 21:10 the author says, "And the Spirit carried me away (ἀπήνεγκέν)....[3] All

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of 1927[3]), p. 240.) G.P. Wetter asserts that in the ancient world it would not be surprising to meet people who claimed to be mouthpieces for God, leading their band of believers behind them. ('Der Sohn Gottes.' Eine Untersuchung über den Charakter und die Tendenz des Johannes-Evangeliums (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1916), p. 17). Society was familiar with the enthusiastic prophet.

[1]It would appear that the standard with which prophetic messages were to be compared was the idea--held by the communities to which 1 John was addressed--of what correct doctrine was.

[2]Didache, 11:1 & 2 and 11:8 & 9.

[3]See The Gospel of the Hebrews,3, where the Saviour is quoted saying, "Even so did my mother, the Holy Spirit, take me by one of my hairs and carry me away on to the great mount Tabor -". Trans. G Ogg, Hennecke, I, 164.

of these passages point to an understanding of the Spirit as something (or someone) that comes upon a man, lifting him out of himself. It is a concept very close to the Lucan idea of the Spirit's 'coming upon'.[1]

The epistle to the Hebrews presents the last passage to be examined as bearing on the study of charismata in the NT. In Heb. 2:4, God is spoken of as bearing witness to the Apostles' preaching by signs, wonders, miracles, and Πνεύματος Ἁγίου μερισμοῖς. Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, discussing μερισμός say, "distributions of the Holy Spirit, i.e., of the various gifts proceeding from the Holy Spirit."[2] C. Spicq affirms the idea that charismatic gifts are in question here, saying, "des charismes visibles qui continuent à se manifester actuellement;..."[3] This passage highlights once again the fluidity which characterized the NT Church's thought regarding

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[1]See p. 44f. above.

[2]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 507.

[3]C. Spicq, L'Épître aux Hébreux, (Études Bibliques) (Paris: J.Gabalda and Co., 1953), p. 28.

the charismata. Here Πνεύματος Ἁγίου μερισμοῖς (gifts of the Spirit) and miracles are listed separately, whereas in 1 Cor. 12:10, the working of miracles is listed as one of the charismata.[1]

The NT passages related to charismatic spiritual experience have now been examined with the two-fold purpose of finding out what kind of charismatic phenomena the NT Church experienced, and of determining how widespread these phenomena were. Most of the relevant information is to be found in Luke-Acts and the Pauline Corpus, and from these sources a very diversified picture emerges. Luke speaks of the Spirit's 'coming upon' or 'filling' men, prompting and enabling unique, powerful action - miracles or inspired speech, ranging from 'anointed' sermons through prophecy to glossolalia or xenolalia. Paul presents the Spirit as

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[1]There are, of course, references to the Holy Spirit in the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John also. (See Mt. 4:1; Mk.1:12; Jn.7:39; 14:26; 16:7-14.) The references in Mt. and Mk. display a concept of the Spirit which is very similar to that which is to be found in the OT (See p. 59f. above.). John's idea of the Spirit is much more fully developed, but there is nothing in the references from the Fourth Gospel which is directly relevant to the present study.

acting in the 'Body of Christ', the Church, enabling it to minister to its needs by means of the charismata, phenomena varying from service and acts of mercy to miracles, prophecy, and glossolalia. It is obvious that the NT Church was very conscious of the Spirit's working through it.

Furthermore, it would seem as though this type of experience was fairly widespread in the NT Church. There are records of it in Jerusalem, Caesarea, Antioch, Ephesus, Thessalonica, Corinth, Rome, and perhaps Samaria - in other words, in many of the major NT cities.

It is now possible to say more precisely what this study is attempting to do. We are not trying to take in the whole range of the Church's experience of the Spirit, but rather, we are focusing upon spiritual experiences which feature dramatic, observable action, i.e., phenomena such as healing, miracles, prophecy, and glossolalia. We shall attempt to see the role this sort of phenomena played in the life of the Church prior to 320 A.D., and to explain its decline.

II

CHARISMATA IN THE PRE-NICENE CHURCH

When one shifts his attention from the NT Church to the Church of the pre-Nicene period,[1] he finds that the charismata-- an integral part of the life of the earlier Church-- are still to be seen. In fact, evidence which attests to the presence of the charismata spans an almost 200-year period from the late first century until the middle of the third. In this section of the thesis, it will be demonstrated that the charismata continued to be a familiar feature of ecclesiastical life throughout the second century. It will also be shown that in the early decades of the third century they became increasingly less common until they dropped from sight c. 260 A.D.

The diverse nature of the documents which contain

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[1]See p. 1f. for a discussion of the criteria by which these Churches are being distinguished from each other.

relevant material[1] makes it difficult to group them in a way which will lend clarity to the study. However, such a grouping can be arrived at by giving attention to the type of evidence the various writings contain.

The evidence for the continuation of charismatic activity falls into two categories: implicit evidence and explicit evidence. Implicit evidence is material which must be drawn from texts by means of careful examination. Texts which offer this sort of evidence do not actually mention the charismata, but rather they contain certain expressions, or accounts of behaviour. The task confronting anyone wishing to build on this sort of evidence is to assess the degree of similarity which exists between the particular expression or account of behaviour and the charismatic experiences of the NT Church: the higher the degree of similarity, the stronger will be the evidence. Explicit evidence, on the other hand, is data which is found in statements which are meant to convey information about the life of the Church. All passages in which such

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[1]See p. 10 above.

evidence is found make definite reference to the charismata. While one is handling such evidence, the main problem confronting him is to determine the trustworthiness of the account in which the evidence is found.

In this section of the thesis, evidence for the presence of the charismata in the life of the pre-Nicene Church will be arranged according to the two categories, implicit and explicit, and the categories will be dealt with in that order. Within each category the evidence will be presented chronologically.

Implicit Evidence

(1) Charismata in the Sub-Apostolic Period

The Didache

As was pointed out above,[1] the distinction made between the NT and the pre-Nicene Churches is in a sense artificial, and never is this more clearly seen than when one compares the NT Church with the Church of the sub-Apostolic period: there is no sharp break to be seen in the flow of the Church's development as it moved into the latter part of the first and early second century. True, men in the sub-Apostolic period began to look upon the literature of the earlier period as 'special' --witness Ignatius' use of Paul's epistles--, and certain NT ideas began to be modified,[2] but the atmosphere

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[1]See p. 1ff. above.

[2]See T.F. Torrance (The Doctrine of Grace in the

in the Churches of the two periods is similar. Although there are hints of a further elaboration of church structure in the later period, spontaneous worship remains a possibility. Intensity of religious experience still takes precendence over precise religious thought, with the result that theological concepts remain relatively undefined and fluid.

Given this atmosphere, it is not surprising that the sub-Apostolic Church should be marked by charismatic activity. The first document coming from this Church which we shall examine because of the material it has which is relevant to a study of the charismata is the Didache. The only known form of this complete work in Greek was discovered by Philotheos Bryennios in an eleventh century MS. possessed by the Jersualem monastery in Constantinople in 1873. When he published the document a decade later, it immediately aroused interest and became the focal point of a

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Apostolic Fathers (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1948), pp. 133-141 for a somewhat different position. Torrance sees a significant doctrinal shift between the NT period and the sub-Apostolic period.

continuing discussion.[1] Of necessity much of this discussion has been taken up with preliminary questions about the Didache--eg., where, when, and how it was written--, and such issues must be discussed again here before the Didache's evidence regarding charismatic activity can be properly assessed.

When one turns to the question of where the Didache was written, he discovers that the arguments which have been put forward have unanimously favoured the East and that in particular two countries, Egypt and Syria, have been suggested. Richard Glover argues for the former. First he points out that the Didache is "extraordinarily independent of Paul."[2] This does seem to be a valid observation: There is no explicit mention of Paul and no strong reflection of his thought. However, Glover himself has pointed out that there is at least "agreement in sense" between Paul's epistles to the Thessalonians and Did.16.[3] From the

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[1]See F.E. Vokes, 'The Didache - Still Debated,' The Church Quarterly 3, 1(1970)57-62.

[2]R. Glover, 'The Didache's Quotations and the Synoptic Gospels, 'NTS 5 (1958-1959)27.

[3]Glover, p. 21.

lack of evidence of Pauline influence in the Didache, Glover argues, "This of itself seems enough to rule out Syria in whose capital Paul had taught and where Ignatius possessed an almost complete collection of his epistles,"[1] and then goes on to say that one must look for a place of origin which Paul's teaching had not reached, suggesting that that description would fit Egypt. He finds corroboration of this idea in the fact that Clement of Alexandria and Origen seem to refer to the Didache as Scripture.[2]

In assessing Glover's position it must be remembered that attention has often been drawn to the 'Jewishness' of the Didache.[3] It is also well-known that there were difficulties between Paul, 'The Apostle to the Gentiles,' and some Jewish Christians (see Gal.2:11-21; Acts 15:1-35, and Acts 21:17-26). Therefore, it is possible that the Didache was

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[1] Glover, p. 27.

[2] Ibid.

[3] R.A. Kraft, Barnabas and the Didache, (The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary, Ed. R.M. Grant, 3)(New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965), p. 65.

written within Jewish circles in which Paul's view of the Law had made him suspect to some degree. Furthermore, it need not be assumed that all parts of Syria were under the influence of Pauline thought in the late first century and the early second century.

Unfortunately, when referring to Clement and Origen's calling the Didache Scripture, Glover does not cite the passages which he has in mind, but one may expect the somewhat vague reference to be found in Clement's Stromata, I. 20. 100. However, J.-P. Audet asserts that, while Clement knew the Duae Viae,[1] it is not certain that he was familiar with the Didache.[2] The grounds for this assertion lie in the fact that all the apparent references to the Didache made by

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[1]According to Audet, the Duae Viae was a Jewish document (La Didachè: Instructions des Apôtres (Études Bibliques)(Paris: J. Gabalda and Co., 1958), pp. 131, 258, and 313.) which was originally used in Jewish attempts at proselytization among Gentiles (p. 209). The authors of the Didache and the Epistle of Barnabas drew upon this document independently (p. 158). A. Vööbus adopts the same position (Liturgical Traditions in the Didache (Stockholm:ETSE, 1968), p. 10). See also L.W. Barnard, Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background (New York: Schocken Books, 1966), p. 37ff. Barnard represents a view similar to Audet's and Vööbus'.

[2]Audet, p. 156 n.1, and p. 214.

Clement are to the section which contains the Duae Viae.[1] Therefore, Clement may have used a document entirely separate from the Didache. This doubt about Clement's familiarity with the Didache makes it impossible to regard Glover's arguments as convincing. When taken together, Glover's arguments are seen to be incapable of proving that the Didache was written in Egypt.

On the other hand, the idea that Syria was the Didache's place of origin has received very strong backing from A. Adam.[2] Adam begins by examining a Coptic fragment of the Didache, Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 9271, concluding that it is a translation of a Syriac text and suggesting on the basis of this that the Syriac text of the Didache existed as early as the

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[1] Audet, p. 214.

[2] 'Erwagungen zur Herkunft der Didache,' ZKG 67(1957) 1-47. Adam's arguments have the virtue of not building upon the conclusions reached on other issues regarding the Didache which are still debatable (eg., sources, form of ministry). The circular argumentation which Adam avoided weakens M.H. Shepherd's 'Didache,' The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Ed. E.S. Burke (New York: AbingdonPress, 1962), I, 842 and Audet's (p. 208ff.) discussions of the subject.

Didascalia (early third century).[1] Secondly, Adam points to certain facts which indicate that the intellectual atmosphere and the linguistic style of the Didache is that of Syria. For example, in Didache 9:2 the expression 'vine of David' appears. Adam says Aphraates is near to this in his commentary on Is. 65: 8f., where he uses the expression 'about the grapes'.[2] Adam also says that the Didache's idea of fasting is further developed in the Syriac Didascalia.[3]

Adam then focuses attention upon Didache 11:11,[4] saying that the hypothesis which presents East Syria as the Didache's place of origin would be strengthened if it helps to explain this passage. Adam argues that 'worldly mystery of the church' means a 'spiritual marriage' in which a prophet lives with a virgin,

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[1] Adam, p. 12.

[2] Adam, p. 14.

[3] Adam, p. 17f.

[4] And every approved prophet who is performing an earthly mystery of the church (μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας), but is not teaching others to do what he is doing, shall not be judged by you, for he has his judgment with God--for the ancient prophets did likewise.

practicing sexual abstinence in order to illustrate Christ's relation to the Church,[1] and he goes on to point out that this question appears frequently in Syrian literature.[2] He concludes, "Der Überblick über diese Gesamtentwicklung zeigt, Did 11, 11 eine verständliche Aussage enthält, wenn es als Anweisung für das Verhalten gegenüber dem asketischen Enthusiasmus syrischer Propheten aufgefasst wird."[3] Adam's discussion serves to show that a high degree of probability surrounds the suggestion that Syria was the Didache's place of origin.[4]

There is much more confusion over the date of the Didache than about its place of origin. In a review of Audet's study of the Didache, J.N.D. Kelly says, "It will be difficult henceforth to sustain that the Didache is a mid or late second-century

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[1]Adam, p. 20.

[2]Adam, pp. 21-28.

[3]Adam, p. 29

[4]F.-M. Braun also thinks it is most likely that the Didache was written in Syria (Jean le Théologien et son Évangile dans l'Église Ancienne, (Études Bibliques) (Paris: J. Gabalda and Co., 1959), p. 257).

document, still less that it is a Montanist fiction,"[1] while R.A. Kraft concludes his study of the Didache's date saying,"...but it would be difficult to argue convincingly that the present form of the Didache is earlier than mid-second century."[2] Bentley Layton finds himself virtually reduced to saying that there is no way to arrive at a date for the Didache which will meet with wide acceptance.[3] But in spite of this range of opinion we must try once again to ascertain at least approximately when the Didache was written.

Before asking 'when?' it seems as though it would be helpful to ask 'For what is a date being sought?' Two recent analyses of the Didache which were put forward by Kraft and Audet, encourage one to look upon the document as it now stands as the product of successive revisions and additions, and not as a work which was complete when it first left its original author. Audet envisions a three-stage process in which two people were

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[1] J.N.D. Kelly, JThSt (NS) 12(1961)331.

[2] Kraft, p. 76.

[3] B. Layton, 'The Sources, Dates and Transmission of Didache 1.3b-2.1,' HThR 61(1968)382.

active: D1 (1:1-11:2 less 1:4-6; 6:2-3; 7:2-4 - passages in which instruction is given in the second person singular--Audet's "passages-tu") was prepared first, and was followed by D2 (11:3-16:8 less 13:3, 5-7--passages-tu), an addition made by the original author, which was followed by I, an interpolator who added the 'passages-tu'.[1] Kraft speaks of the Didache as being an example of "evolved literature" which is produced by a process in which an indefinite number of people handle the tradition found in a document, adding to it and modifying it as they do so.[2] Kraft applies a kind of 'formgeschichte' to isolate the various strata tradition. Here we shall attempt to date only those sections of the Didache which deal with the form of the ministry (10:7 and the section to which Kraft gives the name 'Intracommunity Relationships'--11: 3 - 15:4), laying aside the 'Two-Ways' teaching, which requires special treatment, and the apocalyptic

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[1]Audet, p. 112.

[2]Kraft, p. 1f. It would seem that the uniformity of style to be found in the Didache favours Audet's analysis. (Glover would agree with this (p. 27), but Layton would not (p. 381f.).)

chapter 16.[1]

When one looks for external evidence to help date the Didache, there seems to be some material upon which he can draw. A Didache is cited by name in several places:[2] John Zonaras, Comm. ad Athan. epist. pasch. 39 (c. 1120 A.D.); Nicephorus of Constantinople, Stichometry (829 A.D.); "List of Sixty Canonical Books" (c. 600 A.D.)[3]; Pseudo-Athanasius, Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae, 76 (c. 500 A.D.); Athanasius, Festal Letter 39 (367 A.D.), Eusebius, H.E., 3, 25:4. Audet tries to carry the testimony a step further back by directing attention to a passage in Adversus aleatores by Pseudo-Cyprian--

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[1]Kraft would regard this as an oversimplification, claiming that there is evidence of development within the sections upon which we are focusing. However, the evidence he puts forward (p. 61) is not convincing. Both the original ideas and what Kraft calls "concessions and/or adaptions" could just as well have been written at one time as on separate occasions.

[2]Here I am following Audet, but his list is presented in the reverse order.

[3]T. Zahn, Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altkirchlichen Literatur, 2,11, pp. 290-292 as cited by Audet, p. 87.

> Et in doctrinis apostolorum: si quis frater delinquit in ecclesia et non paret legi, hic nec colligatur, donec paenitentiam agat, et non recipiatur , ne inquinetur et impediatur oratio vestra.[1]

Audet says that this passage corresponds to Didache 14:2 and 15:3.

Kraft lays a general criticism against all these references, saying that they do not cite exact excerpts and therefore, it is impossible to determine what relationship exists between what is cited in these passages and our Didache.

However, Kraft does think there is some valid external evidence for the Didache and says,

> Certainly the fourth century provides ample evidence that our form of the Didache is not only in existence, but is influential in the East, especially in Egypt--see P.Ox., ApCo. And from the fifth century we have the Coptic fragment and possibly the Georgian version. Thus it is safe to say that third-century Egypt (and Eastern Christianity) knew our form of the Didache-- as well as related materials (see CO, Eth, Syntagma-Fides, Shenuti, etc.)[2]

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[1]Pseudo-Cyprian, Adversus aleatores, 4 (PML, 4), col. 906. In a general way, the thought of this passage is an echo of Mt. 18:15-17 and 2 Cor. 5:1-13.

[2]Kraft, p. 74.

It has also been suggested by R.D. Hitchcock, F. Brown,[1] and P. Schaff[2] that in Fragment No. 37 Irenaeus is leaning on Didache 14:3. This deduction is made from the apparent use of Malachi 1:11 in both passages for the same purpose. However, the fact that two authors use a scriptural passage in the same way does not mean that there needs to have been a direct connection between them.

Therefore, it would seem that the earliest certain external evidence for the existence and use of the Didache is to be found in fourth century MSS. from Egypt.

The Didache itself yields several pieces of information which lend support to the idea that the document was written much earlier than the external evidence would suggest. First, attention is to be given to the 'eucharistic' prayers in chapters 9 and 10 and to the way in which they are presented. The

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[1]R.D. Hitchcock and F. Brown, Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (New York:Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), p. xxiv.

[2]P. Schaff, Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (Nee York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1889), p. 116.

prayers themselves are regarded as being very early[1] (Audet suggests c. 70 A.D.[2]), but as Audet points out, the Didachist did not write the prayers and consequently they cannot be used to date the section of the Didache in which they are embedded.[3] However, Audet thinks he has found a clue to the date of the Didache in the rubric following the prayer in 9:5. It is the expression εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου . Audet argues that when this expression was used in Jewish and early Christian circles without the article before κυρίου it meant God, the Father.[4] In this passage the author of the Didache uses the expression referring to Jesus, and Audet suggests that this is an archaic substitute for 'Baptize in the name of the Father,

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[1]See Braun, p. 258, and Kraft, p. 75.

[2]Audet, p. 190.

[3]Audet, p. 190.

[4]Ibid. This expression without the article does not appear in the NT. However, the expression ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου (no articles) occurs in Mt. 21:9; 23:39; Mk.11:9; Lk.13:35; 19:38, and Jn. 12:13. In all these instances Ps. 117:26 of the LXX is being quoted. The reading τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου is found in Acts 2:21 and Rom. 10:13 where Joel 3:5 (LXX)is being quoted.

the Son, and the Holy Spirit.' On the basis of this argument, Audet concludes that this section of the Didache, D1, could not have been composed much after 70 A.D.[1] It would probably be hazardous to insist upon a date of 70 A. D. on the basis of this argument, but the expression as it is used in this passage does seem to suggest considerable antiquity.

The nature of the ministry displayed in the Didache also suggests an early date. 'Apostles'[2] and 'prophets'

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[1] Audet, p. 192. The date at which the Church began to use the trinitarian baptismal formula does not preclude a date of c. 70 A.D. for the section of the Didache in question. J.N.D. Kelly (Early Christian Creeds (London: Longmans, 1960[2]), p. 26) says,"...the collocation of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit had become categories of Christian thinking long before the New Testament documents were written down." Kelly also points out that baptism provided occasions when the semi-formal creed of the Early Church would be called for (p. 13). Therefore, it is possible that a trinitarian baptismal formula was in use in the community from which D1 arose. See also O.W. Heick, A History of Christian Thought (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), II, 40.

[2] There has been some controversy over Audet's understanding of the Didachist's use of ἀποστόλος . Audet says, "Quant aux apôtres nommés dans le titre, il n'y a plus à songer aux Douze," (p. 119) W. Schneemelcher agrees, saying regarding ἀποστόλος , "The Didache by this title means wandering missionaries." ('Apostle and Apostolic,' Trans. G. Ogg, Hennecke, II, 31.) With

are still present (11:3-12), but elected officials are becoming prominent (15:1 & 2), giving evidence that the church revealed in the Didache was moving away from primitive ecclesiastical organisation. However, Kraft argues that 11:3-12 and 15:1 & 2 do not date from the same time, but that whereas the Didache was primarily concerned with an itinerating ministry of apostles, prophets, and teachers, a settled

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this point of view J.N.D. Kelly and M. Smith disagree. The latter says that the Didache is a pseudepigraphon fathered on the Twelve (M. Smith. Anglican Theological Review 43(1961)104). The former's comment is, "..., but a great deal more argument and evidence will be necessary before his interpretation of ἀποστόλων wins general acceptance. On the face of it there is nothing to suggest that the word is used in a sense other than in the Pauline letters and Acts." (Kelly, JThSt, p. 332)

However, when one carefully examines the Didache's regulations governing apostles (11:3-6), it becomes very difficult to see how Kelly and Smith could arrive at the conclusions they did. First, the regulations apply to Πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος The implication is that there was a large number of apostles, probably more than twelve. The regulations state that an apostle could stay for one day, or two days if he had a need. If he stayed a third day, he was a ψευδοπροφήτης. There is no record of anything like these regulations being applied to Peter and Paul and their colleagues. The Apostles were men of great prestige: communities wanted them for as long as possible (Acts 21:36-38). It seems necessary to understand the Didache's regulations as applying to someone other than the Twelve.

ministry developed, and 15:1 & 2 was written into the Didache to cover this new situation.[1] Kraft's argument seems to assume that a different type of ministry requires a difference in time also. We shall soon see that this is an assumption which cannot be made.

In order to assess the importance of the view of the ministry shown by the Didache, one must remember where the document was probably written: Syria.[2] The only sure source of information about the Syrian ministry in the early second century is Ignatius (d. 105-117 A.D.). He, too, represents a transitional stage between an unstructured religious community and a structured one: he was a prophet-bishop.[3] In fact with his elevated concept of the episcopate, Ignatius at first sight seems to represent a further stage of development over the Didache, because that document talks about elected overseers and deacons, but not about a single bishop

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[1] Kraft, pp. 61 and 64.

[2] See pp. 105-110 above.

[3] See p. 148-153 below.

at the head of a church.[1] However, the Didache may not have been written in Antioch and the church it presents may have developed at a different rate than the church in Antioch. Nevertheless, both Ignatius and the Didache are representatives of Syrian Christianity, and the similarities between them are sufficient to show that 11:3-12 and 15:1 & 2 of the Didache may have been written at a time when both an itinerant and a settled ministry were active in the Syrian church, and that this time was probably the late first or early second century.

A third indication that the Didache was written early is the archaic simplicity of the ordinances discussed in it.[2] Audet thinks the form of the ordinances revealed coincides with the first expansion of the Church to the Gentiles. However, this is not necessarily the case, because simple forms of the ordinances probably remained in use for prolonged periods, at least in some places. There is a liturgical conservatism which would

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[1] Kraft, p. 174.

[2] Audet, p. 186f.

require an elaboration of the ordinances to be gradual. In spite of this, the simple form of the ordinances does point to a first century date. Braun also sees this as a mark of antiquity.[1]

The Didache's relationship with the Gospels provides the fourth argument in support of a first century date for the document. We shall look first at its relation to the Synoptic Gospels.

It is to exactly this question that H. Köster addresses himself in Synoptische Überlieferung bei den apostolischen Vätern. He concludes that the compiler who put the Didache into its final form worked at a time when the Gospels of Matthew and Luke were already in use, and when there were still marked similarities to be found between Jewish and Christian ideas, i.e., in the first half of the second century.[2] However, Köster does not think that the Didache's compiler drew directly upon the Synoptic Gospels anywhere. In the section in which it is most likely that he did--1:3-

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[1]Braun, p. 258.

[2](TU, 65)(Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), pp. 159 and 239.

2:1--. Köster argues that in fact he used a previously-assembled collection of dominical sayings.[1] In the central section of the Didache (7 - 15), for which a date is being sought here, Köster can find no evidence of dependence upon Synoptic material.[2] At one point, he accepts the suggestion that the Didachist employed a tradition that arose out of the same region and group of communities that the Matthaean tradition did.[3] Köster does not attempt to date the composition of the central section. However, the absence of definite Synoptic material would suggest that it ante-dates 1:3-2:1 in which such material appears.

In discussing this question, J.-P. Audet says, "La Didachè est contemporaine des premiers écrits évangéliques."[4] He defined the connection between the first two stages of the Didache's composition and the Synoptics, saying that D1 and Matthew share

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[1]Köster, p. 239.

[2]Köster, pp. 190-217.

[3]Köster, p. 208f.

[4]Audet, p. 197.

a common tradition and their similarities are explained by this,[1] whereas D2 uses a written gospel tradition which appeared between the times when D1 and D2 were written and which is similar to Matthew without being Matthew.[2] Audet points to differences between the Didache and the present Gospel of Matthew which he thinks suggest that the Didachist must have used an earlier form of the Matthaean traditions.[3] Audet's explanation of the relationship between D2 and Matthew has met opposition. M. Smith says that the differences collected by Audet to show that a written gospel earlier than the canonical Matthew was used[4] are not greater than differences which could be found in other early patristic citations of the Gospels,[5] and he is supported by J.N.D. Kelly.[6] Although Smith does not quote pa-

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[1]Audet, p. 177.

[2]Audet, p. 182.

[3]Audet, p. 178f.

[4]Audet, pp. 170, 171, 177 and 178.

[5]Smith, p. 103f.

[6]Kelly, JThSt, p. 333.

tristic material in support of his contention, it would seem that there are grounds for holding it, because many, if not all, of the Fathers appear to have quoted frequently from the NT from memory, thus making it possible for their quotations to digress to a greater or lesser degree from the text itself.[1]

The discussion of the Didache's relationship to the Synoptics was appreciably advanced by Richard Glover. Having examined the way in which the Synoptics appear in the Didache, Glover says,

> Out of my examination grew the convictions, first, that the Didache does not bear witness to our gospels, but quotes directly from sources used by Luke and Matthew; secondly, that Justin possessed the same sources, at least in part; thirdly, that the Didache may sometimes preserve our Lord's sayings in a more authentic, or, at least, more primitive form than that found in either Luke or Matthew.[2]

As interesting and provocative as the third conclusion is, it is the first one which is of importance here: that the Didachist quotes directly from some of

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[1]See F.G. Kenyon, Handbook of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1901), 207f. and B.M. Metzger, The Text of the New Testament (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1968[2]), p. 87f.

[2]Glover, p. 12.

Matthew and Luke's sources.[1] A comparison of the Didache and the Synoptics reveals the strong support this conviction has.

Glover says,

> First, then, it will be recalled that nine-tenths of Mark's gospel is incorporated in Matthew. But the Didache shares common material with Mark only on occasions when Luke and Matthew found that material both in Mark and in some other source as well; and then the Didache consistently reflects the non-Marcan source. It is surely inconceivable that a writer, quoting from the conflated text of our Matthew, could reject its Marcan elements and select the non-Marcan so unerringly as the author of the Didache does....[2]

The strong implication of this situation is that the Didachist used a source or sources which Matthew and Luke later called upon, and this suggests that the Didache antedates these two Synoptic Gospels.[3]

Secondly, Glover calls attention to the evidence of context. The Didachist occasionally used sayings which also appear in Matthew, but he places them in

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[1]Glover thinks the source(s) to be Q.

[2]Glover, p. 25.

[3]See p. 130 below.

entirely different contexts.[1] If he was using the canonical Matthew, he was showing complete contempt for Matthew's contexts. The unlikelihood of this again points to the conclusion that the author of the Didache used one of Matthew's sources rather than the Gospel of Matthew itself.

Thirdly, the Didachist's use of Luke seems to be significant. He does not present exclusively Lucan material,[2] suggesting that he did not know Luke. However, he uses material which appears in both

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[1]Glover, p. 25.

[2]Didache 16:1 seems to be an exception, but Glover (p.22) cites T.W. Manson and B.H. Streeter who attribute this section of Luke - 12:35, 40 - to Q. Manson includes Lk.12:35, 40 in Q with some doubt and he does not put forward arguments in support of this inclusion ('The Work of St. Luke,' Studies in the Gospels and Epistles, Ed. M. Black (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1962), p. 46 n.1). Streeter (The Four Gospels (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1953), p. 279) points out that Mt. omits the material found in Lk. 12:35-38, but that immediately after the Q passage (Lk. 12:39-46 and Mt. 24:43-51) he inserts the parable of the Ten Virgins which makes the same point as does Lk. 12:35-38. Streeter later (p. 511) suggests that Mt's omission should not be regarded as primarily an instance of omission, but as one of substitution in which Mt. has laid aside Q material and drawn upon Mk. or M for material which makes the same point but with greater strength. Streeter makes a good case for regarding Lk. 12:35-38 as belonging to Q.

Matthew and Luke, and when doing so, frequently agrees with Luke against Matthew. Glover suggests, "In view, therefore, of the Didachist's apparent ignorance of Luke, these agreements with Luke against Matthew seem consistent only with the explanation that the writer drew his material, not from our evangelists, but from their common source."[1]

Although there are still many problems surrounding the theory of the Q source (the source which Glover sees being used in the Didache),[2] Glover's observations do seem to allow one to date at least the central section of the Didache around the time when Matthew and Luke were being written.

There is also the question of how the Didache

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[1]Glover, p. 25. All three of these observations made by Glover are based on a study of the whole Didache, however all three are illustrated in the central section of the Didache - 6:3-15:4 - upon which we are focusing: first observation - Did.11:7 - cf. Mt. 12:31, Mk.3:28, Lk.12:10; second observation - Did.8:1 - cf. Mt.6:.6; Did.9:5 - cf. Mt.7:6; Did.11:7 - cf. Mt.12:31; third observation - Did.8:2 - cf. Mt.6:9-13, Lk. 11:2-4.

[2]See D. Guthrie, New Testament Introduction, pp. 143-157, and N. Turner, 'Q in Recent Thought,' ExpT 80(1969)324-328.

relates to the Gospel of John. F.-M. Braun sees Johannine influence in Didache 9:2,[1] and also evidence of a closer contact between Didache 9[2]:4 and John 6:12 + 11:52.[3] Braun thinks that by the expression κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον in Didache 9:4 the author was referring to fragments of the eucharistic bread dispersed by Jesus and then gathered up (Jn. 6: reflected also in Jn.11:52) as a prefiguring of the future gathering of the Church.

This suggestion has been shown to be weak by the work of several scholars. A Vööbus points out that there is no textual support for the reading κλάσμα in Didache 9:4 except in the Greek MS., Hierosolymitanus 54, which was not written until 1056 A.D. He argues on these grounds that the reading ἄρτος would be preferable.[4] E. Peterson suggests that the presence

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[1]Braun, p. 253.

[2]On p. 256 of Braun's book the text reads, "Entre Did.x,4...," but this must be an error in which x has been substituted for ix.

[3]Braun, pp. 254-256.

[4]A. Vööbus, Liturgical Traditions in the Didache

of κλάσμα is to be explained by the eucharistic-liturgical linguistic usage of the (Egyptian) Church.[1] Audet contributed to the discussion by saying that the eucharistic prayers (and the idea of a gathering) in the Didache need not be thought of as Johannine, but could be part of common messianic thought.[2] These arguments do not prove the Didache's priority to John, but they do suggest independence of the Fourth Gospel.

Therefore, it appears that the Didachist was not dependent upon our Gospels, and in fact he seems to call upon a source or sources also used by Luke and Matthew. These facts imply that the Didache was written either where the Gospels were unknown or before the Gospels themselves were written. If the Didachist wrote

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(Stockholm: ETSE, 1968), p. 147ff. See also Vööbus' article 'Regarding the Liturgical Traditions in the Didache. The Question of Literary Relations between Didache IX, 4 and the Fourth Gospel,' VigChr 23, 2 (1969) 83.

[1]E. Peterson, Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis (Freiburg: Herder, 1959), p. 168f. Vööbus agrees with this (Liturgical Traditions in the Didache, p. 88f).

[2]Audet, p. 175.

where either Matthew or Luke was already known in the form we now have them, it is unlikely that he would have laid them aside in favour of one or more of their sources. Even if he had wanted to do so it is doubtful that the preferences of his community would have allowed him to do so. It has been argued that the Didache was written in Syria, a possible place of origin of Matthew.[1] If Matthew was known in Syria before the Didache was written, one would have expected a strong Matthaean influence to be seen in the Didache. However, since such an influence is not to be found, it is possible to assume that at least the central parts of the Didache in the form we now have them were written before Matthew and Luke, i.e., c. 80 A.D.

Taken together, the four arguments from internal evidence which have been considered strongly suggest a late first century date for the Didache.

If this date is correct, then the importance of the Didache will be readily seen: it provides a picture of Christianity, however sketchy, during a

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[1]Guthrie, p. 28f.

period for which there is very little definite information. The Didache's exact place of origin cannot be determined. Nor can it be said over how large an area or in how many communities the counsel it offers was applied and the conditions it depicts existed. The references to itinerant ministers who were to remain in any one place for only two days imply that the conditions reflected in the Didache existed over a large area. Otherwise, the constantly travelling ministers would soon become known and the regulations governing the reception of new ministers would become superfluous to a large degree. The importance of the Didache in this study comes from what it says about the form of ministry it knew, in general, and about the prophet, in particular.

The primitive Church in Syria, displayed in Acts as centring upon Antioch, was marked by charismatic activity (See Acts 13:1 & 2; Acts 15:32), and Syrian Christianity as seen in the Didache was still thus marked. There are two features of the Christian communities from which the Didache grew which are particularly interesting. First, the communities

involved seem to have been afflicted with a certain ambivalence with regard to the phenomenon of prophecy: they valued the prophetic message, but looked upon individual prophets with some degree of suspicion. Secondly, they seem to have been led by both itinerant and locally elected ministers.[1]

When one focuses upon the attitude of Syrian Christianity towards prophecy as revealed in the Didache, he finds evidence that the prophetic message was thought to be of importance. The first indication of this is found in the rubric in Didache 10:7 - "Allow the prophets to give thanks as much as they wish."[2] The Didachist obviously thought that prophetic messages would be beneficial to the church involved, and, therefore,

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[1]Audet (p. 110) and Kraft (p. 64) agree that at some stage in its development the Didache may have ended at 11:2, with everything after that being added later. The passages of the Didache which are relevant to the present study come from both sides of this dividing line and are of a similar nature. This suggests that the Syrian churches' experience with prophecy when the section of the Didache ending with 11:2 and when the later material was written were also similar.

[2]This and subsequent quotations from the Didache are translations prepared by the present writer from the text of Audet's edition.

that prophets were not to be restricted in their giving of thanks. A similar attitude is revealed in Didache 11:7, from the later part of the document:

> And you shall neither test (πειράσετε) nor judge (διακρινεῖτε) any prophet who is speaking in the spirit (λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι). For every sin will be forgiven, but this one will not be.[1]

When a prophet is speaking as a prophet, the message is not to be gainsaid. This exhortation reflects the esteem with which the prophetic message was regarded.

At the same time, the Didachist and the communities to which he wrote were not naive. They had learned that not everyone who claimed to be a prophet was genuine, and it seems that at the time when the Didache was written there was a large number of men, both inside and outside the Church, who were making this claim.[2] A certain suspicion of prophets (and of

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[1]The thought here reflects that found in Mt. 12:31 and parallels. See also 'The Questions of Bartholomew,' V, 3&4, Trans. R.McL. Wilson, Hennecke, I, 502 and 'The Gospel of Thomas,' 44, Trans. R. McL. Wilson, Hennecke, I, 515. See p. 134f. below for a discussion of the criteria laid down by the Didachist by which prophets were to be tested.

[2]See p. 95 n.1 above.

itinerant ministers in general) appeared and is manifested in Didache 11:8--"Not everyone who is speaking in the spirit is a prophet." Therefore, it is not surprising that the Didachist should offer tests by which to determine the authenticity of itinerant preachers.

The first criterion is found in Didache 11: 1 & 2 and is doctrinal in nature.[1] A man's teaching must conform with the Two-Ways instruction and the treatment of the ordinances found in the early part of the Didache. If it did, he was to be received when he came to the community. This criterion seems to apply to itinerant teachers in general.

The second criterion applies specifically to the prophets and is a moral test. In Didache 11:8, the Didachist says that the true prophet may be distinguished from the false by observing whether or

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[1]See 1 John 4:1-3, where a doctrinal test is prescribed also and Gal. 1:8, where Paul is concerned to protect his gospel. This implies that, while the communities from which the Didache grew respected the free participation of the prophets, they also recognized as important the maintenance of 'correct doctrine'. And this implies a realization of the value of officers who could preserve that doctrine. See p. 292f. below.

not he has τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου ,'the way of life which the Lord led,' or 'the way of life the Lord requires'. If a man had τοὺς τρόπους κυρίου , he was to be received as a true prophet. While speaking in the spirit, he must not order a meal to be prepared (ὁρίζων τράπεζαν ἐν πνεύματι) and then eat it (11:9). He must do what he teaches (11:10). He must not ask for money or similar things unless it is for someone else (11:12). Once he has passed these tests and is approved, his prophetic ministry is not to be judged (11:11).

There are also regulations governing the stay of a prophet in a community. Didache 11:4 & 5 say that at the most he is to stay two days. These regulations, however, seem to be aimed more directly at 'apostles',[1] because 13:1 states that if a prophet wishes to settle in a community, he is to be supported.

It is clear that the Syrian churches to which the Didache was written had taken steps to protect themselves from spurious prophets. It is possible that the Didachist thought these churches were in danger

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[1] See p. 117 n.2 above

of over-reacting. This attitude may stand behind the exhortation in Didache 10:7, where freedom of prophetic expression is provided for. The Didachist may have thought that he had to warn the communities to which he was writing against becoming too critical and impinging upon the rights of the prophet. Conditions could have been similar to those found in 1 Thess. 5:19-21, where Paul seems to be cautioning the Thessalonians against restricting the functioning of the charismata.[1]

These passages serve to illustrate the dilemma confronting the Didachist and his contemporary Syrian Christians with reference to prophetic activity. They wanted their churches to benefit from prophetic messages, but they were very conscious of the danger of being infiltrated by false prophets.

The second feature of interest in the Didache to which attention will be drawn is the relationship between itinerant and local ministers. While discussing the relations between office-holders and "the old free men of the Spirit" in the Church of the second century

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[1]See p. 90f. above.

in general, von Campenhausen states that they co-existed and then goes on to say,

> The co-existence of these various kinds of authority is not felt to be a problem. To start in every case from a supposed opposition between two separate blocs, the official and the charismatic, is a typical modern misunderstanding. Not only do office-holders possess the Spirit, but the spirituals for their part, to the extent that they rightly belong to the Church, derive the power of their teaching from the traditional apostolic truth.[1]

von Campenhausen is at pains to point out that charismatics and office-holders could, did, and should work side-by-side.[2] Didache 15:1 & 2 seems to illustrate the point von Campenhausen is making.

> Therefore choose for yourselves bishops and deacons who are worthy of the Lord, men who are unassuming and not greedy, who are true and who have been approved. For they are performing the service of prophets and teachers for you (λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων). Therefore, do not despise them, for they are your honoured men, along with the prophets and teachers.

The first thing about this significant passage from the Didache which should be noted is that the

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[1] H. von Campenhausen, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power, Trans. J.A. Baker (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1969), p. 178.

[2] von Campenhausen, p. 295.

elected officials, bishops and deacons, are spoken of as carrying out the activities of prophets and teachers. One must ask what these activities were.

It is perhaps significant that prophets are mentioned in the discussion of the Eucharist (Did. 10:7).[1] Prophets may have led the celebration of the Lord's Supper. However, Vööbus points out that the Didache does not say that the Church of that time and place had invested any particular group with the right to celebrate the eucharist.[2] If this is correct, the only activity which we can be sure the prophets engaged in was the delivery of free, inspired messages and instruction in doctrine. Consequently, elected office-holders seem to have been teaching and delivering prophetic messages. The fact that office-holders were involved in this sort of activity highlights a tendency which became increasingly strong.

In the Pauline congregation, the emphasis was

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[1]Vööbus argues strongly that the meal discussed in chapters 9, 10, and 14 of the Didache is the Eucharist (Liturgical Traditions, pp. 65-78.)

[2]Vööbus, Liturgical Traditions, p. 111.

placed entirely upon the Spirit and formal authority was granted to no one.[1] All believers were regarded as potential channels through whom the charismata could be manifested (See 1 Cor. 12-14.). According to the book of Acts, during the same period a development was taking place: certain of the charismata started to become associated with certain individuals. For example, Silas (Acts 15:27) and Agabus (Acts 21:10) came to be known as prophets. The passage from the Didache cited above seems to indicate that the charismata were then being expected from the community's officially elected officers. These facts seem to point to a tendency for all types of ministry, the charismatic as well as the more liturgical, to be vested in the known and approved men who had been elected to be the spiritual heads of the community.

The second noteworthy conclusion to be drawn from Didache 15:1 & 2 is the fact that the two types of church leaders, charismatic, itinerant preachers and teachers and locally elected officials, were existing

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[1]von Campenhausen, p. 70.

and working side-by-side in the same communities. When encouraging the churches to treat their office-holders with honour, the Didachist places them in the same category as the one in which prophets and teachers were found. This seems to indicate that the value of both types of ministers was recognized.

The Didache was written in Syria in the latter part of the first century, and is, therefore, a very important document for Early Church History. It offers details about the Syrian Church which are available nowhere else. It reveals a community in which men of the Spirit and office-holders lived and worked side-by-side, a community in which the prophetic message was highly regarded and one which was very familiar with men who spoke like the prophets of the NT. The Didache offers clear evidence for the continued existence of the charismata.

Clement of Rome

The second source of information about the charismata from the sub-Apostolic period is Clemens Romanus, the third bishop of Rome.[1] Although A.W. Ziegler seems to be correct when he says that Clement exercised a prophetic type of ministry in warning of the impending judgment of God,[2] this Father finds a place among those who bear witness to charismatic activity in the Early Church primarily on the basis

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[1]This fact has been debated. M. Bévenot in 'Clement of Rome in Irenaeus's Succession-List, 'JThSt (NS) 17 (1966)98-107 argues on linguistic considerations that Clement was the immediate successor of Peter and Paul, the founders of the Roman church. He says that the placing of Linus and Anencletus before Clement is the result of Eusebius' mixing up of the meanings of the prepositions ἀπό and μετά . This suggestion is successfully countered by D.F. Wright in 'Clement and the Roman Succession in Irenaeus,' JThSt (NS) 18 (1967)144-154. He draws attention to several weaknesses in Bévenot's argument. Wright makes Bévenot's interpretation of Irenaeus finally untenable by drawing attention to the fact that Irenaeus always carefully distinguished between the offices of apostle and bishop, a distinction whcih Bévenot's suggestion does not allow.

[2]A.W.Ziegler, Neue Studien zum Ersten Klemensbrief (München: Manz Verlag, 1958), p. 56. Of course, simply because a man speaks in a prophetic manner, giving warnings and pronouncing judgment, it is not necessary to assume that he is manifesting the spiritual gift of prophecy.

of one passage in his late first century letter.[1]: 1 Clement 38:2.[2] This passage reads: "Therefore, let our whole body be preserved in Christ Jesus, and let each be subject to his neighbour, as his gift dictates (καθὼς ἐτέθη ἐν τῷ χαρίσματι αὐτοῦ)."[3] This evidence for Clement's familiarity with charismatic experience is by no means unequivocal, depending in the first instance upon how the word χαρίσματι is to be interpreted.

W.K.L. Clarke, commenting upon this passage, argues that the spiritual gift referred to in 1 Clement 38:1

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[1]Regarding the date of 1 Clement, L.W. Barnard says, "The references in I Clement esp. 7:1 therefore support the view that the Epistle was written just after the reign of Domitian when the Church was not sure how the new Emperor, Nerva, would react. Or it could perhaps be fitted into a lull a year or two before Domitian was assassinated. In any event we shall not go far wrong if we assign its composition somewhere between the years A.D. 94 and 97." (Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), p. 12.)

[2]Ziegler does not examine this passage exhaustively (see p. 55 of his book.) He implies only that it has something to say about the charismata.

[3]Present writer's translation of F.X. Funk's text of Clement, Ad Corinthos (Patres Apostolici, 1-) (Tübingen: Heinrich Laupp, 1901), p. 146

is "not of "charismatic" gifts,"[1] and attempts to show the sense in which χάρισμα is to be understood by pointing to 1 Cor.7:7 and Rom.12:6. He made an unfortunate selection of passages in trying to prove his point. On one hand, the first charisma mentioned in Rom.12:6 is prophecy, a gift which is most certainly 'charismatic'. On the other hand, Robertson and Plummer, commenting on 1 Corinthians 7:7 say, "Here χάρισμα...is used in the sense of a special gift of God, a special grace to an individual,"[2] In other words, the gift in view in 1 Cor.7:7 is a specific enabling given to an individual for his own benefit. However, the gifts with which 1 Clement is concerned are those which enable Christians to minister to other Christians. The selection of passages Clarke made confuses rather than clarifies his opinion on how χάρισμα in 1 Clement 38:1 should be interpreted.

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[1]W.K.L. Clarke, The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians (London: S.P.C.K., 1937), p. 100.

[2]A. Robertson and A. Plummer, 'First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, '(International Critical Commentary) (Edinburgh: T.& T. Clark, 1914[2]), p. 136.

Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich say of χάρισμα, "of special gifts of a non-material sort, bestowed by the grace of God on individual Christians I Pt.4:10; I Cl. 38:1."[1] The implication is that in the two passages which Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich cite, χάρισμα carries the same shade of meaning. They further distinguish this meaning from the meaning χάρισμα has in 1 Cor. 12-14 and Rom. 12. The question to be answered is: does χάρισμα, in 1 Pet.4:10, in fact have a different meaning than it has in 1 Cor. 12-14 and Rom. 12?

The answer is suggested by the fact that the treatment given to 1 Pet.4:10 by several commentators reveals no basic difference between the understanding of χάρισμα in this passage and in 1 Cor.12-14 and Rom.12.[2] Of course, it is true that this opinion of commentators

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[1]Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich, p. 887.

[2]E. Best, I Peter, (New Century Bible)(London: Oliphants, 1971), p. 160, F.W. Beare, The First Epistle of Peter (Oxford:Basil Blackwell, 1942), p. 160, C. Spicq, Les Epitres de Saint Pierre, (Etudes Bibliques)(Paris: J. Gabalda, 1967), p. 62, and J.N.D. Kelly, The Epistles of Peter and of Jude (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1969), p. 179. Moffatt's comment on the passage remains ambiguous (J. Moffatt, The General Epistles (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1928), p. 153).

is not an infallible response to the question. However, it must be regarded as a strong indication as to where the answer lies. χάρισμα in 1 Pet.4:10 probably has the same meaning as it does in 1 Cor.12-14 and Rom. 12. Therefore, Bauer-Arndt-Gingrich's coupling of 1 Clement 38:1 with 1 Peter 4:10 does not mean that the former does not also correspond in meaning to 1 Cor. 12-14 and Rom.12.

R.M. Grant presents a third interpretation of χάρισμα as it appears in 1 Clement 38:1. He compares 1 Clement 38:1 with 1 Cor.. 12:4-11, 28-31 and Rom. 12: 3-8,[1] and apparently sees no essential difference between χάρισμα as used by Clement and Paul in these passages. This seems to be the best way to handle the passage in 1 Clement. Therefore, Clement could have been referring to the whole range of charismata, including caring for the needy, teaching, giving alms, prophecy, administration, and speaking in tongues.

There is no way of knowing whether Clement knew all,

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[1]R.M. Grant, First and Second Clement,(The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary, Ed. R.M. Grant, 2)(New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1965), p. 66.

or only some, of the charismata.

Ignatius of Antioch

The first piece of evidence of sub-Apostolic charismatic activity which we considered came from Syria, the second from Rome, and now for the third we turn again to Syria and focus upon Ignatius, one of the earliest bishops of Antioch.[1] Between 105 and 117 A.D. while on his way to martyrdom in Rome,[2] Ignatius wrote seven letters which have proved to be of considerable historical significance. These documents have received a great deal of scholarly attention, having been subjected to minute examination from a bewildering array of angles in order to capitalize on every scrap of information about the Early Church that they contain. One wonders how this condemned and harassed man would have reacted if he could have known the intensity of the curiosity with which his hurriedly dashed-off notes would some day be scrutinized. Of course he did not know, and he was able to write

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[1]F.X. Murphy, 'Ignatius of Antioch, St.', NCE (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), VIII, 353.

[2]R.T. Smith , 'Ignatius, St.,' Dictionary of Christian Biography, Eds. W. Smith and H. Wace (London: John Murray, 1877), III, 211.

with a freedom and a candor which reveals much about himself and his milieu. The place of importance which has been granted to Ignatius' letters is by no means inappropriate.

Studies of Ignatius have focused on many diverse questions: what is his view of the Church? what type of ministry is revealed in his letters? what does he think of the sacraments? what heresies does he combat? to what extent, if any, was he influenced by Gnosticism? what relationship does he have with the Odes of Solomon? However, in these studies of Ignatius there is one fact that frequently escapes serious treatment--the fact that he was a Christian prophet.

In particular, there are two passages in Ignatius' correspondence which point towards this conclusion. The first is to Polycarp 2:2 -

> But ask for invisible things (τὰ ἀόρατα) so that they may be made manifest (φανερωθῇ) to you, in order that you may lack nothing and abound (περισσεύῃς) with all gifts (χαρίσματος).

There are two points about this passage to be noticed. First, Polycarp is encouraged to ask to see

invisible things: Ignatius thinks his colleague should be the recipient of revelations. Secondly, Polycarp is told to seek revelations so that he will abound in χαρίσματα. This word seems to be used in the same sense here as it was used in Paul's letter to the Romans 12:6 and in 1 Cor.12:4, i.e., to mean 'spiritual gifts'. Ignatius does not recommend any one charisma to Polycarp, but rather urges him to live a generally charismatic life. What Ignatius has in mind seems to be captured by a statement by M.H. Shepherd, who says,

> Certainly the official charismata of the early church were not severally exclusive. Any individual could perform as many functions as his spiritual endowments allowed.[1]

Ignatius wanted Polycarp to be prepared to exercise whatever charisma God might want to use in a given situation. This passage reveals Ignatius as a man who thought enough of the charismata to urge a colleague to make them a part of his life.

The second passage, Philadelphians 7:1b & 2 goes further in establishing Ignatius' position as

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[1]M.H. Shepherd,'Smyrna in the Ignatian Letters: a Study in Church Order,' JR 20(1940)154.

a prophet. There he says,

> While I was among you, I cried out, I was speaking with a loud voice, God's voice (θεοῦ φωνῇ), "Pay attention to the bishop, to the presbytery and deacons." And some were suspecting that I said these things as one who had had prior information about a division which certain people had caused, but he for whom I am in bonds is my witness that I did not get this information from any man. But the Spirit preached (τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν), saying, "Do nothing without the bishop; keep your flesh as the temple of God; love unity; flee divisions; be imitators of Jesus Christ as he is of his Father."

There are two features of this passage which show that Ignatius thought he had been functioning as a prophet on the occasion in question. First, before giving a brief summary of his message, he says, "I was speaking with a loud voice, God's voice (θεοῦ φωνῇ)," and secondly, when his message was so accurate that suspicions arose that someone had given him a careful briefing, Ignatius defended himself by saying, "...I did not get this information from any man. But the Spirit preached (τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν), saying...." F.J. Dölger draws attention to the first protestation--"I was speaking with a loud voice, God's voice."[1] By calling upon material from

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[1]F.J. Dölger, ΘΕΟΥ ΦΩΝΗ, Die "Gottes-Stimme"

the NT, pagan hellenistic literature, and the Acts of Philip, Dölger argues persuasively that during the period when these documents were being written it was assumed that when a man vocally delivered a message from a god he did so in an abnormally loud, compelling voice. An agitated, straining voice was thought to be a natural accompaniment of the mysterious experience of being under the control of a god. Therefore, when Ignatius says that he spoke with a loud voice, God's voice, he is saying that at the time when he spoke he was under divine control.[1]

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bei Ignatius von Antiochien, Kelsos und Origenes,' Antike und Christentum 5(1936)218.

[1]R.M. Grant, (Ignatius of Antioch, (The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary, Ed. R.M. Grant, 4)(Camden, N.J.:Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1966), p. 104f.) and G.P. Wetter ("Der Sohn Gottes". Eine Untersuchung uber den Charakter und die Tendenz des Johannes-Evangeliums (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1916), p. 189) agree that on this occasion in Philadelphia Ignatius thought that God was speaking through him. Of course the idea that gods speak through men was not unique to Ignatius: it appears in the OT (Is.1:11-31 and Jer.11:22), in other early Christian literature (Odes of Solomon--see p.152 below, and the Montanist movement--see p. 171ff.below), and in pagan literature (See p. 95 n.1. above.). In addition to the pagan authors mentioned in the note referred to, there are references to possession by a god, ecstasy, and similar phenomena

One student of Ignatius, F.A. Schilling, saw very clearly and placed much emphasis upon Ignatius' prophetic activity. He cites several passages in which Ignatius speaks of revelations which he had received (Rom.7:2; Eph.20:2; Trall. 5, and Philad. 7), and then says, "From these self-revelations we know that Ignatius firmly considered himself a prophet, though he did not call himself one."[1] Schilling also draws attention to a feature (mentioned above) which he thinks is characteristic of prophets: the consciousness of a dual personality in which the prophet's ego merges imperceptibly with that of the god. He then cites Philad. 5:1 and Trall.6 as examples of this

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in the works of many other pagan writers. Some of these are: Cicero, De divinatione, 1, 66, Trans. W.A. Falconer (LCL)(London:William Heinemann, 1923), p. 297; Sophocles, Antigone. 956-963, Trans. F. Storr (LCL ed., 1)(London: William Heinemann, 1912), p. 387; Euripides, Bacchae, 1122ff., Ed. E.R. Dodds (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1944), p. 65, and Plato, Phaedrus, 244B, Trans. H.N.Fowler, (LCL ed., 1)(London: William Heinemann, 1914), p. 465.

[1]F.A. Schilling, The Mysticism of Ignatius of Antioch (Ph.D. Thesis. The University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, 1932), p. 50.

phenomenon in Ignatius.[1] Schilling's understanding of Ignatius as a prophet is summed up in one passage in which he says,

> It is possible that he was a native of Antioch where then he found field for his prophetic work. But these functions, coupled with extraordinary ability to instruct and his powers of leadership, brought him into a prominent position in the church, until finally he was elected bishop. During these preceding years, however long the period may have been, he must have been like his fellow prophets of Syria: a speaker in the spirit and a seer of visions.[2]

Having seen that there are strong grounds for looking upon Ignatius not only as a bishop but also as a prophet, we must ask what significance this has for the history of the Early Church in general and a study of the charismata in particular. In answering this question, it must be born in mind that Ignatius provides evidence for a comparatively wide geographical area. First and foremost, Ignatius was a witness to Christianity as it was known in Syria, and especially at Antioch. V. Corwin says regarding Ignatius,

As his unexpected death loomed, breaking as

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[1]Schilling, p. 57.

[2]Schilling, p. 62.

> he says into the midst of life, his ideas would have been fully developed and his theology rounded out. The Christianity presupposed is therefore that with which the church in Antioch was familiar, and what he writes of the function of the bishop and the nature of the church reflect, we must conclude, the concerns which he has been trying to put into practice, and from which he was taken when the persecution fell.[1]

Corwin's points are well taken. The circumstances which were surrounding Ignatius when he wrote his letters would not have allowed his adoption of different practices which he may have found in Asia Minor or his evolving a new system of theological thought. The peace in which he could think and write hung upon the whim of the callous soldiers who were escorting him to his death and upon the needs of the brethren who came to visit him. He must have had very little time to himself. The ideas which he presents would be those which he had hammered out during his active life before his arrest, i.e., at Antioch. Therefore, he is "... primarily a witness to a type of Syrian Christianity which was known and practised in Antioch in the early

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[1]V. Corwin, St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 29.

second century, to which he himself contributed."[1]

However, Ignatius is also a witness for early second century Christianity as it was found in Asia Minor. The only extent writings of this Antiochene bishop (which probably make up the sum total of his output) are seven letters which were written to churches and people in Asia Minor from two cities of Asia Minor, Smyrna and Troas. These letters deal with situations existing in several churches of Asia Minor and are, therefore, invaluable sources of information about early Christianity in this region.

Ignatius' position as a prophet-bishop is historically significant in two ways. First, it points towards the conclusion that the Christian communities of Ignatius' time, both in Syria and in Asia Minor, were familiar with charismatic activity. If Ignatius could function as a prophet in Philadelphia, he probably ministered in the same way on occasion in his own bishopric, Antioch. He does not seem to have regarded

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[1]L.W. Barnard, Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Background (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966), p. 21.

his prophesying in Philadelphia as an unusal phenomenon. He could write to Polycarp, the bishop of Smyrna, urging him to make the charismata a part of his life without being afraid that a charismatic bishop would be looked upon as strange by the Smyrnaeans, or would further jeopardize the unity of the church.[1] The incident in Philadelphia when Ignatius spoke as a prophet reveals the high regard with which both Ignatius and the Philadelphians viewed prophecy. When the appropriateness of Ignatius' message aroused suspicion that he had been previously briefed regarding a local situation, he insisted in the defence of his action that the message had been spoken through him by the Holy Spirit. This appears to have had the effect of removing the message from the sphere of human partiality, and of lending it authority. The missing premise in this argument is that the Philadelphians would accept a word spoken by the prompting of the Spirit before they would accept a merely human word. This same attitude is reflected in the charge which some

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[1]See Shepherd, p. 143 ff., where he discusses the factions which existed in the Smyrnaean church.

Philadelphians seemed prepared to lay against Ignatius. If he really had prophesied, they would have to listen, but they suspected him of having feigned prophecy from ulterior motives.

Ignatius' position as a prophet-bishop is also of importance for the study of the development of ecclesiastical hierarchy: in him, the bishop's chair and prophetic charisma were united. Didache 15: 1 & 2 indicates that the local officials, bishops and deacons, of the community in which the Didache was written were also carrying out the duties of prophets and teachers. Ignatius serves as a prime example of this marriage of administrative and charismatic service.

Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, stands out of his letters as a man who supported whole-heartedly a three-fold ministry for the church, featuring strong bishops,[1] but at the same time, he emerges as a

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[1]C.C. Richardson ('The Church in Ignatius of Antioch,' JR 17(1937)(436) suggests that the persistent emphasis Ignatius puts upon this form of government may indicate that it had only recently been adopted in communities over which Ignatius had influence.

prophet, able to speak under the guidance of the Spirit. This dual role is significant in that it shows that the Christian communities of Syria and Asia Minor were to some degree familiar with charismatic activity. It also reveals a stage in the development of ecclesiastical structure in which administrative and charismatic functions were able to be carried out by the same individual.

Richardson also points out that this was not the sole form of church government existing at Ignatius' time. V. Corwin (p. 84) says that it may have been Ignatius himself who instituted the monarchical episcopate. J.F. McCue ('Bishops, Presbyters, and Priests in Ignatius of Antioch,' Theological Studies 28(1967) 831), while he does not say that Ignatius was responsible for the monoepiscopacy at Antioch, thinks that it may have been founded only shortly before Ignatius' elevation to the position. The newness of the monarchical episcopate as an institution may account for the considerable emphasis Ignatius gives it.

The Odes of Solomon

The next sub-Apostolic contributor of material relevant to a study of the charismata is a document entitled the Odes of Solomon. When Rendel Harris published this work in 1909, the theological world reacted paroxysmally. Journals blossomed with articles as scholars attempted to assess accurately the light which this hitherto lost collection of songs shed upon the early period of the Church's life. However, interest in the Odes then declined: a fact which J.H. Charlesworth also noted.[1] Charlesworth has suggested that one of the main reasons for this is a widely-held belief that the Odes are gnostic literature and as such are able to make only a limited contribution to the study of the mainstream of biblical tradition.[2] This neglect could also have arisen from the nature of the Odes themselves. They are the product of religious experience and are intensely devotional in nature. They are able to tell something of the religious milieu

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[1] J.H. Charlesworth, 'The Odes of Solomon - Not Gnostic,' Catholic Biblical Quarterly 31(1969) 357.

[2] Ibid.

from which they arose, but they have little to say on many of the questions which interest scholars. They are not involved in the parry-and-thrust of theological controversy. Once the secondary questions about the Odes (their date, place of origin, literary connections, etc.) have been discussed, the range of theological investigations that can be based upon them is limited.

However, in the last decade the Odes have experienced somewhat of a comeback. Interest in them has been fanned by the publication of a Greek text of Ode 11[1] and by possible connections with the Qumran community.[2] In this study it is the essentially spiritual or devotional nature of the Odes that will occupy us. However, before attention can be focused upon that, several secondary questions claim our attention.

There is unanimity among scholars on at least one fact about the Odes: they present a multiplicity

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[1] M. Testuz, Papyrus Bodmer X-XII (Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959).

[2] See p. 171f.

of problems, and none of these problems is more difficult to solve than the determination of the date at which the Odes were written. There is some external evidence which is of assistance. Lactantius appears to have drawn upon Ode 19 while writing his Divinae Institutiones.[1] In addition to this, five Odes appear in Pistis Sophia, a gnostic writing which is to be dated to the latter half of the third century.[2] It is only with difficulty that one can carry the date of the Odes to a time much earlier than Pistis Sophia and Lactantius.

A.C. Headlam calls upon an argument first put forward by J.R. Harris[3] to show that the Odes are of

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[1] Lactantius, Divinarum Institutionum, 12, 4:3 Ed. S. Brandt (CSEL, 19)(Vienna, 1890), p. 310.

[2] See A. Harnack, Das Gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia (TU, 7, 2). (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche, 1891), pp. 95-103, C. Schmidt, Die Pistis Sophia: Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften. (GCS)(Leipzig: J.C. Hinrich, 1905), p. XVII, and G.R.S. Mead, Trans. Pistis Sophia (London: John M. Watkins, 1955(1921²)), pp. xxix-xxxi. In Mead's translation, the Odes are found on pp. 95, 97, 110, 125, and 131.

[3] J.R. Harris, The Odes and Psalms of Solomon Cambridge: At the University Press, 1909), p. 10.

an early date. He says that the author of the Pistis Sophia regarded the Odes as Scripture, and therefore that the Odes were probably written in the early second century.[1] However, F.-M. Braun rejects this argument, saying that it is not necessary to assume that the author of Pistis Sophia thought of the Odes as Scripture.[2] Braun insists that the appearance of the Odes in Pistis Sophia need prove no more than that the Odes were in use in the third century and that Solomon was popularly regarded as their author.[3] It would seem, however, that there is more weight in the similarity of the treatment afforded to the Psalms of David and the Odes of Solomon than Braun is prepared to admit.[4] Yet even if it is granted that the author of Pistis Sophia thought of the Odes as Scripture, one must ask if it is necessary to assume

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[1] A.C. Headlam, 'The Odes of Solomon,' Church Quarterly Review 71 (1910/11)274f.

[2] F.-M. Braun, Jean le Théologien et son évangile dans l'église ancienne (Paris: J. Gabalda and Co., 1959), p. 241.

[3] Ibid.

[4] See Harris, pp. 10-35.

the lapse of 100-150 years between the time of writing of the two documents. It is to be remembered that the author of Pistis Sophia was not an 'orthodox' writer. It may have been possible for a book to gain admittance to his canon more easily than to a more orthodox one. He may not have made the same demands for antiquity that the more orthodox circles seem to have laid down. Furthermore, W.R. Newbold has contended that the gnostic circles within which the Pistis Sophia appeared would not have been above using a particular work as Scripture if it strengthened their position, whether or not it had generally or previously been regarded as such.[1] The use made of the Odes by Pistis Sophia does not require their being dated to the early part of the second century.

It has also been thought that external evidence of use in dating the Odes can be found in the writings of Ignatius, the Bishop of Antioch.[2] F.A. Schilling has pointed out that there are similarities between

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[1]W.R. Newbold, 'Bardaisan and the Odes of Solomon,' JBL 30(1911)171.

[2]See p. 147 above.

the Odes and Ignatius' thought,[1] and R.M. Grant has said that Ignatius knew the seventh Ode or something very near it.[2] (However, in the next breath, he softened this by saying, "In any event his [Ignatius'] letters and the Odes come from the same spiritual environment.") V.Corwin has argued that Ignatius knew at least some of the Odes, basing her argument on the similarities that exist between Ode 38 and Tral.6:2, Ode 11 and Rom.7:2, and Ode 7:21 and Eph. 19:3.[3] However, Grant had in advance limited the force of Corwin's argument by pointing out that these similarities need not be explained by assuming a direct literary connection between the Odist and Ignatius, because the ideas they share are also found in the works of other authors.[4]

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[1] F.A. Schilling, The Mysticism of Ignatius of Antioch (Ph.D. Thesis: University of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, 1932), p. 45 n. 75.

[2] R.M. Grant, 'The Odes of Solomon and the Church of Antioch,' JBL 63(1944)363-377.

[3] V. Corwin, St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), p. 72 and p. 75.

[4] Grant, pp. 370-372.

Nevertheless, the possibility remains that there is a direct connection between Ignatius and the Odes of Solomon. The question then arises, who was dependent upon whom? Corwin says,

> If there is direct connection, which seems the most probable explanation, then it is easier to argue that Ignatius knew the Odes than the converse. A hymn book is more readily quoted than are letters such as those of Ignatius.[1]

While this statement is true as far as it goes, one cannot proceed on the basis of it to assume that Ignatius did know the Odes; the converse remains a possibility.

Having reviewed the external evidence bearing upon the date of the Odes of Solomon, one may conclude that while it is strong enough to make an early second century date for the Odes a possibility, it is not able to establish such a date as probable.

When one turns to internal evidence, he finds some confirmation of an early date for the Odes. Several writers have drawn attention to the general character of the Odes, and have argued that it

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[1]Corwin, p. 75.

favours an early date. Harris says that the Odist is revealed as a man who is extremely happy in God, and he asserts that, unless the author of the Odes was an "isolated specimen", the songs must have arisen from a period of general spiritual elevation, which, says Harris, was the first age of the Church.[1] Grant suggests that the theology of the Odes confirms a relatively early date,[2] and Gressmann sees the Odes as having been written in a transitional period which he thinks was the first half of the second century.[3] If one may generalize on the basis of these comments, it can be said that the church out of which the Odes arose was one which contained at least some men who were preoccupied with their relationship with God, which had not been able to bring an advanced precision into its doctrinal formulations, and which was experiencing considerable theological ferment. If this characterization of the Christian community out of which the Odes arose

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[1] Harris. p. 54.

[2] Grant, p. 369f.

[3] H. Gressmann, 'Les Odes de Salomon,' RTP (NS) 1 (1913)201.

is acceptable, then we have a means by which to arrive at an approximate period in which the Odes were written.

However, we must first ask where the Odes were written. Braun observes that the style and spirit of the songs is Semitic,[1] and H. Gressmann has suggested that they were written in either Egypt or Syria.[2] It would seem that the arguments in favour of the latter are the more compelling. Ch. Bruston regards the Odes as having been written in Syria by a Syrian;[3]

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[1]Braun, p. 225.

[2]Gressmann, p. 203.

[3]Ch. Bruston, 'Quelques observations sur les Odes de Salomon,' ZNW 13(1912)113. See also A. Vööbus, Celibacy, a Requirement for Admission to Baptism in the Early Syrian Church, (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1)(Stockholm, 1951), p. 21 and 'Neues Licht zur Frage der originalsprache der Oden Salomos,' La Muséon 75(1962)275-290. In the latter of these two works, Vööbus argues effectively in support of the view that the original language of the Odes was Syriac. Prior to this J. Carmignac ('Les affinités qumrâniennes de la onzième Ode de Solomon,' Revue de Qumran 3(1961)71-102) had argued strongly that the Odes were written in Hebrew. In 1962 M. Philonenko found new evidence in support of the contention that the Odes were originally written in Greek ('Conjecture sur un verset de la onzième Ode de Salomon,' ZNW 53(1962) 264.) However, J.A. Emerton's lengthy article ('Some Problems of Text and Language in the Odes of Solomon,' JThSt (NS) 18(1967)372-406) can be regarded as having tipped the scale of probability decisively in favour of a Syrian original.

Braun, while inclined to attribute the authorship of the Odes to Bardaisan,[1] concludes by saying only that they were written by a Jew of the Dispersion living in either Syria or Mesopotamia,[2] but it is J. de Zwaan who argues most effectively that the Odes were written in Syria.[3] He finds allusions to the flooding of the River Daisan in Ode 6:7-9. It is seen then that there is much scholarly support for the suggestion that the Odes were written in Syria or on its eastern border.

Now we must ask if our sources allow us to say when the Church in Syria was marked by intense religious enthusiasm, an unrefined theology, and doctrinal turbulence. It would seem that the sources do not allow a definitive answer to be given in reply to this question. It is possible to reconstruct an outline of the history of the Syrian Church during the

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[1]Braun, p. 240.

[2]Braun, p. 250.

[3]J. de Zwaan, 'The Edessene Origin of the Odes of Solomon,' Quantulacumque, Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake, Ed. R.P. Casey, S. Lake, and A.K. Lake (London: Christophers, 1937), p. 296f.

first three centuries,[1] but the sources do not allow us to arrive at a clear conception of the religious life of the east Syrian Christian communities of this period. However, it is possible to give an answer which carries some degree of probability. Both the Didache[2] and the letters of Ignatius[3] reveal religious conditions similar to those found in the Odes of Solomon. There are questions about the dates of these sources, especially in the case of the Didache, but both certainly date from a period no later than the first half of the second century. It would seem that the Odes of Solomon, sharing both a religious climate and a geographical setting with the Didache and Ignatius,

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[1] See F.C. Burkitt, Early Eastern Christianity, (St. Margaret's Lectures, 1904)(London: John Murray, 1904), W. Bauer, Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum, (Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie, 10), Ed. G. Strecker(Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1964[2]), pp. 6-48 (ET, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, Trans. Ed. R.A. Kraft and G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), pp. 1-43.), and L.W. Barnard, 'The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa During the First Two Centuries A.D.,' VigChr 22(1968)161-175.

[2] See p. 132f. above.

[3] See pp. 148-152 above.

should also share the same chronological period: the first half of the second century.

Harris and Grant have both pointed to another piece of internal evidence which argues for a late first century or early second century date for the Odes: the beginning of Ode 4, which reads

> No man, O God, changes thy holy place: and it is not possible that he should change it and put it in another place: because he has no power over it: for thy sanctuary was designed before thou didst make other places: that which is the elder shall not be altered by that which is younger than itself.[1]

Harris interprets this passage to mean that someone wanted to move a sanctuary, and suggests that the sanctuary in question was the temple at Leontopolis in Egypt which was destroyed by the Romans in 73 A.D.[2] Grant suggests that the passage is the expression of the belief that no one is able to move the Presence of God from its site in Jerusalem, and was written

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[1]This and all aubsequent quotations of the Odes are from the Harris-Mingana translation: The Odes and Psalms of Solomon (Manchester: At the University Press, 1920[2]), II.

[2]Harris, (1909), p. 57.

after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D.[1] However, the reliability of these interpretations is open to doubt. A. Loisy builds a good case in support of the view that the author of the Odes spoke of the Temple in a metaphorical sense,[2] and Carmignac takes a similar approach.[3] These studies raise questions about the justifiableness of using the reference to the Temple in Ode 4 to substantiate an early date.

There is still more internal evidence which argues in favour of an early second century date for the Odes. This is to be found in the definite connections the Odes have with the literature of the Qumran community. Carmignac has argued that these connections are so strong that they can best be explained by assuming that the author of the Odes had lived in the Qumran community for some time before its break-up which

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[1] Grant, p. 369. Newbold sees this as directed against the Montanists who were identifying the New Jerusalem with Pepuza, a small village in central Asia Minor (p. 170).

[2] A. Loisy, 'La mention du temple dans les Odes de Salomon,' ZNW 12(1911)126-130.

[3] Carmignac, p. 100f.

occurred before 70A.D.[1] If this is correct, then the Odes could not have been written much after 100 A.D. The strength of this argument was reduced somewhat by K. Rudolph's study, 'War der Verfasser der Oden Salomos ein "Qumran-Christ?"'[2] Here it is pointed out that the Odes have connections not only with the Qumran literature but also with Mandaean material. This suggests that the line from Qumran to the Odes may not be as direct as Carmignac supposes and that the author of the Odes may in fact have felt the influence of the Qumran community through its literature rather than through personal experience. However, this objection to Carmignac's suggestion does not make an early second century date less possible.

Directly relevant to the date of the Odes is the question of authorship. Newbold favours Bardaisan,[3] and if he is correct then the Odes must be regarded as having been written in the late second century. In

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[1]Carmignac, p. 98.

[2]Revue de Qumran 4(1963)523-555.

[3]Newbold, pp. 161-204.

his study, Newbold tries to show

> (1) That no antecedent improbability precludes the ascription to Bardaisan.
> (2) That some of the Odes can be readily interpreted in the light of Bardaisan's theories.[1]

F.-M. Braun is inclined towards the Bardaisanic authorship also.[2] Although he does not advance the argument in favour of Bardaisan beyond the point reached by Newbold, he concludes, "Tout ceci considéré, il faut convenir que si l'auteur des Odes n'est pas Bardesane lui-même, il lui ressemble étonnamment."[3]

However, there have been voices raised in disagreement with this suggestion. M. Sprengling introduces considerations which suggest that Bardaisan used the Odes, but did not write them.[4] In his second edition of the Odes, produced with the collaboration of A. Mingana, Harris acknowledged the value of Newbold's study but refused to accept the Bardaisanic authorship

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[1] Newbold, p. 204.

[2] Braun, pp. 238-242.

[3] Braun, p. 240.

[4] M. Sprengling, 'Bardesanes and the Odes of Solomon,' Anglican Journal of Theology 15(1911)459-461.

on two grounds: the Discourses of Ephrem to Hypatius, which offer information about Bardaisan, had not been studied carefully yet, and he had other evidence which supported a date for the Odes earlier than Bardaisan.[1] However, neither of these objections are solid. First, the information about Bardaisan in the works of Ephraim published in 1912[2] confirms what was previously known and therefore, does not weaken Newbold's argument. Secondly, the evidence Harris relies upon in order to establish an early second century date for the Odes, namely, the alleged use of these documents by Ignatius of Antioch,[3] has been shown to be questionable.[4]

The Bardaisanic authorship of the Odes has been questioned by others also. J. de Zwaan could find

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[1]Harris and Mingana, (1920[2]), II, 64.

[2]C.W. Mitchell, Trans. and Ed. S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations of Mani, Marcion, and Bardaisan (London and Oxford: Williams and Norgate, 1912). 2 vols. Incidentally most of this information comes from the Stanzas Against Bardaisan and from Against Bardaisan's 'Domnus' rather than from the Discourses Addressed to Hypatius, as Harris suggests.

[3]Harris and Mingana, (1920[2]), II, 67.

[4]See p. 163f. above.

no trace of Bardaisan's characteristic theological ideas in the Odes.[1] H.J.W. Drijvers amplifies this. He states that the Odes "... teach a decidedly ascetic Christianity, and that is in conflict with everything we know of Bardaisan,"[2] and secondly, that the author of the Odes belongs to the vulgar Christianity of second century Syria while Bardaisan had aristocratic traits.[3] Therefore, it would seem that Bardaisan cannot be regarded as having been the author of the Odes. This leaves the way clear for an early second century date for the Odes.

There is yet another question which merits attention before the Odes themselves are examined: from which theological community did they arise? Almost since the date of their publication, there have been those who have thought the Odes grew out of gnosticism. H. Gunkel thinks their background was obviously

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[1] de Zwaan, p. 294.

[2] H.J.W. Drijvers, Bardaisan of Edessa, Trans.(Mrs.) G.E. van Baaren-Pape(Assen: Van Gorcum, 1966), p. 210.

[3] Drijvers, p. 211.

gnostic;[1] W. Stölten draws attention to many parallels between the Odes and gnostic literature;[2] Gressmann says,

> Or le dernier anneau de cette longue chaine est formé par les Odes de Salomon, qui nous transportent - par dela l'Ancien Testament, les Pseudépigraphes et les Apocryphes - dans le jardin enchanté de la ((gnose)) , où ont cru tant de fleurs exotiques; parmi ces fleurs les Odes sont l'une des plus rares,[3]

and H.M. Schenke assumes they are gnostic sayings, "Die Oden Salomos sind die einzigen gnostischen Texte,..."[4] and then goes on to use certain parallels between the Odes and the so-called Evangelium Veritatis to show that the latter is not Valentinian.

However, the suggestion that the Odes appeared in a gnostic community has not received a unanimous endorsement. Several scholars have refused to accept

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[1]H. Gunkel, 'Die Oden Salomos, ' ZNW 11(1910)326.

[2]W. Stölten, 'Gnostische Parallelen zu den Oden Salomos, 'ZNW 13 (1912)29-58.

[3]Gressmann, p. 195.

[4]H.M. Schenke, Die Herkunft des sogenannten Evangelium Veritatis (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1959), p.26.

the idea,[1] the latest of whom is J.H. Charlesworth. Charlesworth has argued convincingly that the Odes are not gnostic.[2] However, it cannot be denied that there are clear traces of gnosticism in the Odes, which exist along side of the distinctly Christian elements. Braun suggests that these two different types of thought can best be reconciled by assuming that the author of the Odes was a Christian who was converted from gnosticism.[3] This seems to be an adequate explanation.

Having considered several secondary questions regarding the Odes, attention must now be focused

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[1]See Newbold. p. 163, R.H. Connolly,'The Odes of Solomon Jewish or Christian?' JThSt 13(1912)298, Harris and Mingana, (1920^2), II, 61, and J. Quasten, Patrology (Utrecht: Spectrum Publishers, 1950), I, 161.

[2]Charlesworth, passim. Some of his main arguments are as follows: (1) 'Knowledge' in the Odes is not Gnostic 'knowledge'; (2) there is no Gnostic cosmology in the Odes; (3) the Christology found in the Odes may be docetic, but it is not Gnostic; (4) the Creator is called 'Lord' and there is no Demiurge, and (5) there is no dualism.

[3]Braun, p. 237f. This is in keeping with Braun's view that Bardaisan, who was converted from Valentinianism, may have been the author.

upon the atmosphere to be found within them. F.C. Conybeare is making a useful comment when he says,

> Nevertheless reading between their lines we can discern among the Montanists just such an elan of enthusiasm, just such an identification of the Christian prophet with the Holy Spirit, with Christ and with God as we encounter in these odes.[1]

Conybeare appears to have been correct in drawing parallels between Montanism and the Odes with regard to the prophetic spirit which marks them, but it is unlikely that the two should be linked, with the Odes being thought of as Montanist.[2]

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[1]Conybeare, p. 73.

[2]The Odes of Solomon have been regarded as Montanist by two scholars: F.C. Conybeare ('The Odes of Solomon Montanist,' ZNW 12(1911)70-75 and S.A. Fries ('Die Oden Salomos Montanische Lieder aus dem 2. Jahrhundert,' ZNW 12(1911)108-125. However, the arguments used to support this contention are incapable of establishing the point.

In spite of the similarities which exist between Montanist materials and the Odes, it is probably best not to regard the latter as Montanist. There are linguistic considerations which support this. The Montanist oracles which have been preserved by Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Didymus (See pp. 201, 214f., 217, and 222) are all Greek. The oracles to be found in Tertullian are in Latin, but it is known that Tertullian was competent in both Greek and Latin and therefore, he could easily have translated the Oracles. In contrast to this, it is quite likely that the Odes were written in Syriac (See p. 167 n. 3 above.)

Gressmann, too, notes the animated spiritual expressions which mark the Odes and says,

> Souvent le poète chante les expériences enthousiastes de sa foi nouvelle. Quand l'extase l'a saisi, it s'est senti transporté dans le ciel, comme s'il se présentait devant le trône du Tout-Puissant.[1]

Braun agrees with Gressmann, and even advances the discussion, saying that the symbolism used by the author of the Odes is evidence that there were genuine religious experiences from which it could grow.[2] Grant looks upon the Odes as "...individual "psalms" like those mentioned in I Cor. 14:26."[3] And so it is seen that the author of the Odes has been looked upon as a prophet--a man whose soul had been enraptured by God and who then attempted to convey to others what he had learned and felt through these experiences.

In addition to this, the sources show that while Montanism did spread to the West (Rome, North Africa, Gaul, Illyricum, Spain) it did not make inroads into areas east of Asia Minor.

[1]Gressmann, p. 73.

[2]Braun, p. 230.

[3]Grant, p. 368.

When one turns to the Odes themselves, he readily discovers why many have been impressed by their religious intensity. A prophetic note is sounded in numerous passages, several of which will now be cited.

Ode 11:6&7.

> And speaking waters drew near my lips
> From the fountain of the Lord plenteously.
>
> And I drank and was inebriated
> With the living water that doth not die.

The ideas expressed in this passage are fairly common, appearing also in pagan, Jewish, and other Christian writings. E. Rohde cites passages which suggest that the Pythia took stimulants other than the vapours from the crevice over which she sat. She drank both water from an inspired spring and sacrificial blood. [1] The similarity between this and the words of the Odist is obvious. There was also a fountain called Castalia which was an essential part of the oracle of Apollo at Daphne in Syria. According to A. Bouché-

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[1] E. Rohde, Psyche, Trans. from the 8th edition by W.B. Hillis (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1925), p. 311 n. 44.

Leclercq,[1] it was popularly believed that the bubbling, singing waters of this fountain gave off a 'breath' (souffle) which threw the priests of the shrine into a delirium out of which a message from the god would be delivered.

F.-M. Braun calls attention to the use of the expression "living water" which appears in the material from Qumran.[2] The term occurs in the Thanksgiving Psalms (Hodayot) 8, 4ff. Here it is used with reference to the Teacher of Righteousness.

The image of "living water" is also used in John 7:38 and 39. Braun notes this, but goes on to say that while the images used here and in Ode 11: 6&7 are similar, the meaning attached to the image in the two passages is somewhat different.

Therefore, when the author of the Odes used the expression "speaking waters", he was drawing upon a term in use widely at that time. The meaning which

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[1] A. Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la Divination dans l'Antiquité (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1880), III, 266-269.

[2] Braun, p. 226.

he attached to the expression parallels the use made of the term in paganism more closely than the usage in either Jewish or Christian circles.

Ode 12:1&2

> He hath filled me with words of truth,
> That I may speak the same.
>
> And like the flow of waters, flows truth from my mouth,
> And my lips show forth its fruits.

The prophetic awareness of these verses cannot be missed. The odist is clearly claiming a divine inspiration for his message.

Ode 18:4.

> O Lord, for the sake of them that are deficient,
> Do not deprive me of thy word.

Regarding this ode Harris says,

> The writer of this Psalm speaks as a prophet, who has known the Divine visitation, and has felt its effect both on mind and body, in the dispelling of error and the healing of disease. He prays for a continuance of the Heavenly gift for the sake of the needy people to whom he gives his message.[1]

This comment seems to be appropriate. The author of the Odes is remembering times of past ministry, and

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[1]Harris and Mingana, (1920[2]), II, 297f.

he is asking for further empowering in order to be of assistance to others.

> As the wings of the doves over their nestlings,
> And the mouths of their nestlings towards their mouths,
> So also are the wings of the Spirit over my heart.
>
> My heart is delighted and leaps up,
> Like the babe who leaps up in the womb of his mother.

Here the odist is attempting to convey the intensity with which he desires communion with the Spirit and the accompanying inspiration.

Ode 36:1&2a.

> I rested on the Spirit of the Lord;
> And (the Spirit) raised me on high:
>
> And made me to stand on my feet in the high place of the Lord.

In this passage, the author recalls an instance in which he had been drawn into ecstasy by the Spirit. This is the language of a prophet.

Ode 42:1-26.

This ode will not be quoted, but the feature of interest about it is that almost all of it is ex ore Christi: the author's personality has blended with Christ's. This concept of the relationship between the prophet and his God was common during the period

in which the Odes were written.[1]

As well as the passages which have been cited and commented upon above, there are several others which lend support to the idea that the odist was also a prophet. They are: Ode 2:1&2; 7:18; 14:8; 16:5, and 40:2. These passages combine with those previously cited to give the picture of a man who spoke out of a rich, profound experience of God.

It has been argued that the Odes of Solomon were written in an 'orthodox' Christian community in Syria during the second century. Attention has also been focused upon the deeply religious nature of the songs, and it has been seen that their author deserved to be called a prophet. This would indicate that there were still prophets in Syria in the second century, and that at least some of the Christian communities of the region were familiar with prophetic activity.

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[1]See p. 95 n. 1 and p.151 n. 1 above.

The Shepherd of Hermas

Returning to Rome, we take up the Shepherd of Hermas. After 1800 years, Hermas remains an enigma in the story of the Church. He is regarded both as a progressive thinker skillfully choosing the tools of reform[1] and as a simple slave whose aspirations took him out of his literary depth.[2] It is unclear what role he played in the life of the church in Rome. While he never calls himself a prophet, he does claim to have had repeated visions. All the following references begin passages in which visions are described: 1:3; 5:1; 8:1; 9:6; 18:7; 22:6, and 25:2.[3] Furthermore, he

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[1]K. Lake, ' The Shepherd of Hermas and Christian Life in Rome in the Second Century,' HThR 4(1911)27.

[2]W.J. Wilson, 'The career of the Prophet Hermas,' HThR 20(1927)27.

[3]The method of dividing the text of the Shepherd of Hermas which is followed throughout is that which was suggested by R.A.B. Mynors (See R. Joly, Hermas: Le Pasteur, (SCH, 53)(Paris: Cerf, 1958), p. 67) and adopted by M. Whitaker (Die Apostolischen Vätern, Der Hirt des Hermas, (GCS), 1956) and R. Joly (Hermas: Le Pasteur). This system of numeration presents a continuous numbering of the chapters as an alternative to the traditional division into Visions, Mandates, and Similitudes.

twice says that he was commanded to publicize his visions (46:2 and 114:1-4). Thus although Hermas does not refer to himself as a prophet, it would appear that he thought he had functioned in that capacity. However, when one compares his visions with instances of prophecy in the NT (see Acts 13:2 and Acts 21:11) and with the experience of Ignatius at Philadelphia,[1] it is readily apparent that different types of prophecy are functioning. The simplicity and directness found in Acts and Ignatius are replaced by a more complex pattern, both as to method and as to content, in Hermas.

The book Hermas produced, The Shepherd of Hermas,[2] is no less perplexing. There are two main divisions in the book--the Visions, on one hand, and the Mandates and Similitudes, on the other, and they differ from one another in several respects. In the former, the Church gives Hermas much assistance; in the latter,

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[1] See p. 149f. above.

[2] 'Shepherd' appears in the title due to the prominent role played in the Mandates and the Similitudes by the celestial Shepherd.

the Shepherd assumes this role; Hermas' family is mentioned or alluded to with some frequency in the Visions, but in the Mandates and Similitudes it is hardly mentioned. When faced with these and other differences, G.F. Snyder contends that in order to provide an adequate explanation one need not posit some form of multiple authorship,[1] but then he goes on to say, "...one is forced at least to some theory of additions and re-editing."[2] However, it would seem that a more adequate explanation would in fact be something along the lines of that proposed by S. Giet, which argues that the present form of the Shepherd is a result of the work of three different authors.[3] The date of the book has also been a point of contention. Sometime between 125 and 175 A.D. is probably the most suitable

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[1]The Shepherd of Hermas, (The Apostolic Fathers: A New Translation and Commentary, Ed. R.M. Grant, 6) (Camden, N.J.: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1968), p. 23.

[2]Snyder, p. 23.

[3]S. Giet, Hermas et les Pasteurs: les trois auteurs du Pasteur d'Hermas (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963).

date, but this is by no means a unanimous opinion.[1]

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[1]Opinions regarding the date of the Shepherd of Hermas range from about 94 to 95-100 A.D. (Wilson), through 140-154 A.D. (Joly, Pfleiderer, and Swete) to as late as c. 175 A.D.(Giet suggests this last date for the final form of the book, assuming that certain parts were earlier--p. 304f.) The date 140-154 A.D. is based on the Muratorian Canon's statement that Hermas was the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome. The value of the Muratorian Canon's evidence has been questioned by A.C. Sundberg, who argues that the canon probably appeared in the East and that it dates from the fourth century ('Towards a Revised History of the New Testament Canon,' Studia Evangelica 4(TU, 102)(1968)458f.). However, the suggestions Sundberg makes regarding both place and date cannot be accepted. In regard to the place of writing, Acts 28:30f. and Rom.15:24 and 28 probably refer to Rome, and the Muratorian Canon does not make the claim that catholica ecclesia means only Rome. It may be interpreted to mean the 'Universal Church' of which the author of the Canon was one representative in Rome. In addition, the fact that the Canon's vocabulary parallels that of Cyprian (Sundberg, p. 458.) suggests that the Canon appeared in the West. In regards to date, the main reason for Sundberg's assigning it to so late a period is the fact that the Canon's treatment of the Shepherd parallels that which Athanasius gave to it. However, it is possible that the Muratorian Canon's arrangement of Christian literature could have been known in the West considerably earlier than it was in the East.

This discussion aside, Snyder has found other objections to the Muratorian Canon's statement: the brother of a monarchical bishop would not know only 'presbyterian' church organization as seems to be the case with Hermas; there is no persecution in the middle of the second century to which the sentiments in the book regarding persecution could refer, and the Muratorian Canon and the Catalogus Liberianus seem to be under the influence of Hippolytus when making the claim that

Hermas' inclusion in the present study rests upon the discussion of prophets in general which appears in 43:1-21 of his book. In this passage, he acknowledges the presence of true and false prophets,[1] and he lays down a criterion by which the Church can distinguish between the two. He says, "You have before you the life of both kinds of prophets. By his deeds and life test, then, the man who says he is inspired."[2]

Hermas was Pius' brother. Hippolytus wanted to show that the Shepherd was too late to be scripture because it was used by Callistus to support his idea of repentance (Snyder, p. 22). Snyder prefers a date before 140 A.D., when divisions in the church became apparent and the presence of a recognized leader came to be seen as essential in Rome (p. 24). Giet sees the writing of the book involving a period from the first quarter of the second century until c. 175, and he dates the section dealing with prophecy (48:1-21) between 160-170 A.D. (p. 304).

[1]Snyder's statement that Hermas never mentions the Christian prophet (Snyder, p. 86) seems peculiar in face of 43:7--"'Sir,' I said, 'how then will a man know which of them is a prophet and which is a false prophet?'" Since it is Hermas, a Christian, who, in a Christian writing asks about distinguishing prophets (43:6), it would seem logical to assume that the true prophet, who is opposed to the false prophet, is a Christian too.

[2]The Shepherd of Hermas, 43:16, Trans. G.F. Snyder.

Hermas' criterion lies in the conduct of the prophet rather than in his message. In this regard, Hermas corresponds to one of the criteria to be found in the Didache,[1] but differs from the doctrinal test prescribed in 1 Jn.4:1-3. In the latter passage, the test of prophets has reference to the teaching contained in their messages.

Lake thinks that Hermas offers clear evidence that the issue of how to distinguish between prophets was very much alive in the Rome of the first half of the second century.[2] Obviously, this passage and its criterion were occasioned by the need to determine which of a number of prophets were to be given credence. Regarding this passage, H.B. Swete says, "This is remarkable testimony to the survival of prophecy in the Roman Church till perhaps the fourth or fifth decade of the second century."[3]

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[1]See p. 134f. above.

[2]Lake, p. 45

[3]H.B. Swete, The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church (London: MacMillan and Co., Limited, 1912), p. 25.

There is controversy surrounding many facts regarding the Shepherd of Hermas and its author. However, this lack of certainty in many areas does not undermine the fact that Hermas knew of prophets and knew that they played a prominent role in at least some of the churches with which he was familiar. This makes Hermas an important witness to the existence of the charismata.

(2) The Second Century World outside the Mainstream of Christianity

Montanism

When one turns to the second half of the second century, he finds that implicit evidence of charismatic activity comes from various directions but never from within the mainstream of the Church. In fact the first contributor of such evidence is a movement which came to be regarded as heretical: Montanism. Since its appearance in the second century A.D., 'the heresy of the Phrygians' has provoked passionate comment. Unfortunately, it has often been handled with more emotion than reason and this has added to the diversity of the opinions which have been put forward about it. H. Daniel-Rops' portrayal of the movement is trenchant:

> Flanked by two women visionaries, Maximilla and Priscilla, who were as irrational as he [Montanus] was, and who had left their husbands in order to follow him, he hurled himself into a frenzied campaign of evangelization through the Near Eastern provinces. The world was nearing its end! The Paraclete, heralded by Jesus, was about to appear, clothed in glory! Glory be to the Spirit! Glory be to Montanus, its interpreter, its living presence, 'the vibrant lyre singing beneath God's bow'! This propaganda met with rapid success in the East

> where mysticism was readily excited. Theologically, the doctrine was not very exhausting; morally, the austerities which it encouraged were no surprise to an area which had witnessed the Galli practising self-castration in order to enter the Phrygian mysteries. The fanatical teaching which made martyrdom into an obligation, towards which men were required to run, found echoes in many souls who had been robbed of all their senses by the prevalent atmosphere of conflict and terror. From about 170 onwards a wave of semi-insanity was let loose upon the world. It travelled through many Christian communities in the East, and later in the West as well: Montanist churches sprang into being.[1]

In this passage, Daniel-Rops calls upon his considerable skill as a writer in order to create a vivid picture of Montanism. It is to be regretted that in some details artistry seems to have impinged upon accuracy.

R.A. Knox presents a similar view of the movement when he says,

> The history of Montanism is not to be read as that of a great spiritual revival, maligned by its enemies. It is that of naked fanaticism, which tried to stampede the Church into greater severity, when she had not forgotten how to be severe.[2]

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[1] H. Daniel-Rops, The Church of Apostles and Martyrs, Trans. A. Butler, (History of the Church of Christ, 1)(London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1960), p. 297.

[2] R.A. Knox. Enthusiasm(Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1950), p. 49.

John de Soyres, in contrast with the previous two scholars, appears to look upon the Montanists with some favour. He concludes,

> We see clearly now that Montanism is not to be regarded as a sect, growing from within, though virtually without the Church, but as the exaggerated statement of fundamental and original principles, which, in a period of transition, would excite as much antagonism as the most violent novelty.[1]

This primitive religious movement is still capable of dividing opinion and of luring careful scholars into language which is somewhat overdrawn.

In spite of its divisive nature, Montanism spread to many parts of the Roman Empire. However, this study will limit itself to investigating Montanism as it appeared in Asia Minor. It was in this region that the movement first broke out and then gained its greatest strength. In addition to this, sources reveal Montanism's charismatic experience more clearly in Asia Minor than in any other region. Knox, who thinks

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[1] J. de Soyres, Montanism and the Primitive Church (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1878), p. 110.

that "Montanism, for us, means Tertullian"[1] would say that such a limitation is impossible. However, there are three deposits from which information regarding Asiatic Montanism can be drawn: a collection of Montanist oracles; the writings of critics contemporaneous with, or at least near to the early Montanists, and epigraphical information from archaeological investigations. When one turns to these deposits of information, he is able to come to valid conclusions about Montanism as it was known in Asia Minor.

From these sources, Montanism arises as a very provocative religious phenomenon. Questions appear regarding its debt to its Phrygian surroundings,[2] and regarding its doctrinal position, especially with reference to those aspects of its beliefs which

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[1]Knox, p. 42.

[2]See K. Baus, From the Apostolic Community to Constantine, (Handbook of Church History, Ed. H. Jedin and J. Dolan, 1)(Freiburg: Herder, 1965), p. 200, H. Kraft, 'Die altkirchliche Prophetie und die Entstehung des Montanismus,' Theologische Zeitschrift 11(1955)271, and the studies by K. Aland, 'Der Montanismus und die kleinasiatische Theologie,' ZNW 46(1955)109-116 and G. Freemann, 'Montanism and the Pagan Cults of Phrygia,'Dominican Studies 3(1950)297-316.

led to its being pronounced heretical. Its attitude towards martyrdom, its eschatology, its moral code, and its hierarchical structure are all of interest. However, this study confines itself to only one facet of Montanism, albeit its most characteristic and controversial one: its prophetic activity. Since it is this feature of Montanism which has precipitated much of the misunderstanding which has plagued the movement, and at the same time, which makes Montanism relevant to the present investigation, it requires discussion.

Before the treatment of Montanist prophecy is begun, it is necessary to take two preliminary steps. First, the controversy surrounding the date of the appearance of the movement must be reviewed, and secondly, the sources upon which this study will draw for its information about Asiatic Montanism must be discussed in more detail.

The controversy over the date of the 'outbreak' of Montanism stems from the material which Eusebius and Epiphanius offer on the subject. Eusebius takes up the matter in several places. In his Chronica he

says that Montanism appeared in the twelfth year of Marcus Aurelius, i.e., in 172 A.D. However, a somewhat different picture is presented by Eusebius' Historia Ecclesiastia. In 5, 1:1 of this work, Eusebius says that a persecution broke out in 177 A.D. (the seventeeth year of Marcus Aurelius' rule) in Lyons and Vienne.[1] He then goes on to say later, "Just at that time in Phrygia while those who belonged to Montanus, Alcibiades, and Theodotus' group were

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[1]The traditional date of this persecution and of the letter(s) written during it has been questioned by J.W. Thompson. ('The Alleged Persecution of the Christians at Lyons in 177' American Journal of Theology 16 (1912) 359-384.) He argues, on the basis of literary and epigraphical silence and primarily on irregularities in the trial proceedings, that the persecution could not have taken place under Marcus Aurelius, but is to be placed 100 years later. His main argument (regarding irregularities in the trial) is weak. The official policy of Marcus Aurelius is found in H.E., 5, 1:47 & 48: those who recant are to be released; of the obdurate, the Romans were to be beheaded; the others, thrown to the lions. This is in line with Trajan's policy as expressed in his famous letter to Pliny (Epist. 97, 2). The deviations from this policy which the letter reveals are attributable to the violence of the mob to which frequent reference is made.

In the Chronica, Eusebius says the persecution started in 167 A.D. However, this would mean that the martyrs would have had to be in prison for five years before Montanism appeared in 172 (Chronica) and this is very unlikely.

publishing their opinion about prophecy among many for the first time...."[1] It is important to be certain about exactly what Eusebius is saying. He is not saying that the movement appeared in 177 A.D. He says, rather, that at that date the Montanists had begun to gain a hearing within a large circle of people. The implication of this statement is that Eusebius thought that Montanism had appeared sometime before 177 A.D.

Eusebius offers further information about the date of the outbreak of Montanism in his treatment of Apollinaris, the bishop of Hierapolis. In the Chronica he says that Apollinaris took office in 171 A.D. and in H.E. 4, 24:1 he gives a catalogue of Apollinaris' extant works, which includes treatises against the Montanists. In this passage, Eusebius says that Montanism was just beginning when Apollinaris wrote against them. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville charges Eusebius

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[1]Eusebius, H.E., 5,3:4 (Schwartz: Leipzig 1903, as reproduced in Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, Trans. K. Lake (LCL)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1926). 2 vols. In all subsequent references to the H.E. it will be Schwartz's text that will be cited.) Translated by the present writer.

with giving two dates for the beginning of Montanism: one coinciding with the succession of Apollinaris in 171 A.D. and one coinciding with the persecution in Lyons and Vienne in 177 A.D.[1] However, all we know about when Apollinaris wrote is that he was active during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.), and Apollinaris' anti-Montanist works are not dated. Therefore, these treatises could have been written any time between Apollinaris' becoming bishop in 171 and Marcus Aurelius' death in 180. There is as much reason to put them nearer the later date as nearer the earlier.

What then does Eusebius say about the date of the outbreak of Montanism? Taking these three passages together, one may conclude that Eusebius thought that Montanism appeared during the second half of the reign of Marcus Aurelius, sometime in the early 170's A.D. This degree of chronological uncertainty is not unusual for Eusebius.[2]

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[1] G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, 'The Date of the Outbreak of Montanism,' JEH 5(1954)13.

[2] See p. 326ff. below.

Epiphanius is much more explicit than Eusebius. He says that the outbreak of Montanism took place in the nineteenth year of Antoninus Pius, i.e., in 156 or 157 A.D.[1] The central question is which of these dates is to be regarded as the more credible--and on this question scholarly opinion is divided.

Many prefer the earlier date.[2] One chain of argument leading to this preference begins with a statement by an unnamed writer quoted by Eusebius in H.E., 5, 16:19.[3] He says that instead of the havoc

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[1]Epiphanius, Panarion, 48:1, (MG, 41), 856.

[2]See T. Zahn, Grundriss der Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons (Leipzig: A. Deichert, 1901), p. 14, W. Walker, A History of the Christian Church, revised by C.C. Richardson, W. Pauck, and R.T. Handy (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959[2]), p. 56, P. Schaff, Ante-Nicene Christianity, (History of the Christian Church, 2)(Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1952 (1901[5])), p. 418. H. Leitzmann, The Founding of the Church Universal,(A History of the Early Church, Trans. B.L. Woolf, 2).(London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), p. 194. (None of these authors attempt to trace the arguments by which this date is established.), and Freeman-Grenville, pp. 7-15.

[3]It has been established, on the basis of the discovery of the tomb of Avircius Marcellus, to whom the anonymous author whom Eusebius quotes addressed his work, that this anti-Montanist wrote before 216 A.D.--Freeman-Grenville, p. 13.

which she had been predicting,[1] thirteen years of peace had followed Maximilla's death. This period of peace is to be identified with the reign of Commodus (180-192 A.D.). It is then suggested that Maximilla must have been dead by 179 A.D. On the basis of part of Maximilla's oracle preserved by Epiphanius in Panarion, 48:2 ..., Μετ' ἐμὲ προφῆτις οὐκέτι ἔσται ,... it is further argued that Montanus and Priscilla had predeceased Maximilla (there was to be no prophetess after her) and that by 179 A.D. the three protagonists of early Montanism had all died. Supporters of the early date argue that the movement would have needed more than the 2 - 7 year period Eusebius' dates allow to get established, and therefore, that Epiphanius' date is preferable.[2]

The weak link in this argument is the anonymous author's reliability as a reporter on the state of the empire of his time. His report may be accurate,

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[1] See the Montanist oracle attributed to Maximilla which is found in Epiphanius' Panarion, 48:2.

[2] C.P. Loughman and R.M. Grant, 'Montanism', Encyclopedia Britannica (Encyclopedia Britannica, Ltd., 1964), XV, 750 and Freeman-Grenville, p. 14.

but it must not be accepted too quickly. Given the poor condition of communications in the second century A.D., this man must have been faced with considerable difficulty when trying to assess conditions within the whole vast empire. Could he really be certain that for thirteen years there had been no serious conflict anywhere in the empire? Modern scholars, standing on the shoulders of many generations of historians, see Commodus' reign as the time which produced conditions most like those Eusebius' anonymous writer mentioned, but can they really be sure that that is the period he meant? It would seem that any relatively peaceful period up to 216 would do just as well. For example, the period from 200-213 could be chosen. This would precede the date fixed by Avircius Marcellus' tomb and easily accommodate Apollonius' statement that he wrote 40 years after Montanus began to prophesy.[1] Therefore, because it is difficult to pinpoint the thirteen-year period to which the unnamed writer in Eusebius' H.E. referred, it is also difficult to set precisely

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[1]Eusebius, H.E., 5, 18:12.

the date by which Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla were dead-- and this removes the force of this argument for an early date for Montanism's appearance.

There is a second argument for the early date based on a somewhat confused and confusing statement made about Thyatira by Epiphanius in Panarion 15:33. He seems to say that the city became Montanist in 120 A.D., and after that deciphering what he meant becomes a problem. Freeman-Grenville suggests two alternatives.[1] Thyatira became Montanist in 120 and then returned to orthodoxy in either 232 (112 years later) or 263 (112 years before Epiphanius wrote in 375 A.D.). de Labriolle, in a somewhat obscure treatment of the passage, states that Thyatira became Montanist in 120 and remained so until 375, when Epiphanius wrote.[2] Freeman-Grenville recognizes that to speak of Montanism in 120 A.D. is anachronistic and cautiously adopts an emended reading[3] which would have Epiphanius

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[1]Freeman-Grenville, p. 12.

[2]de Labriolle, p. 576.

[3]Freeman-Grenville, p. 12.

say that Thyatira became Montanist in 172 A.D.[1] In order for Montanism to become the dominant Christian group in Thyatira, it must have been a fairly strong movement which had been in existence for some time previously.[2] Montanism appears as a vigorous group in the early 170's.

However, there are two factors which recommend caution in accepting 172 A.D. as the date at which Thyatira became Montanist: first, the date rests on a textual emendation; secondly, Epiphanius "is notoriously slack about dates,..."[3]

From the foregoing it is seen that the arguments in support of an early date for the appearance of Montanism are not immune from criticism. When one turns his attention to the date for the outbreak of Montanism to be inferred from Eusebius' work

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[1]It is interesting to note that W.M. Calder's work would support the idea that Thyatira was orthodox by 232-'Philadelphia and Montanism', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 7 (1922-23) 323.

[2]Freeman-Grenville, p. 14.

[3]Freeman-Grenville, p. 14

he finds that it too has its supporters.[1] To my mind, the later date has more to recommend it. First, all three of the passages in which Eusebius gives information regarding the beginnings of Montanism focus upon the same period: the early 170's. Secondly, what Epiphanius has to say about Thyatira probably belongs to this period too, and if Epiphanius was slightly inaccurate--if 172 was a few years too early--this statement would correspond well with what Eusebius tells us. Thirdly, the arguments in favour of the 156-7 date are not strong enough to be conclusive. Montanism may probably be regarded

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[1] See E. Lombard, 'Le montanisme et l'inspiration,' Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, (NS)3(1915) 280, W.H.C. Frend, The Early Church (Knowing Christianity) (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1965), p. 80, H. Chadwick, The Early Church, (The Pelican History of the Church, 1)(Penguin Books, 1967), p. 52, Daniel-Rops, p. 297, K. Baus, Von der Urgemeinde zur frühchristlichen Grosskirche, (Einleitung in die Kirchengeschichte, Ed. H. Jedin, 1)(Freiburg: Herder, 1962), p. 231, (ET, From the Apostolic Community to Constantine, Eds. H.Jedin and J. Dolan. Freiburg: Herder, 1964), J. Lebreton, De la fin du 2e siècle à la paix constantinienne, (Histoire de l'Église, Eds. A. Fliche and V. Martin, 2)(Bloud & Gay, 1948), p. 37 n.5 and p. 39, and P. de Labriolle, La crise montaniste (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1913), p. 573.

as appearing sometime between 170 and 175 A.D.[1] Even if it has to be granted that Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla were dead by 179-- a suggestion which is questionable[2]--a case can be made for this date. As de Labriolle points out,

> Pour ma part, je n'éprouve nulle difficulté à concevoir que le Montanisme ait éclaté d'une façon très brusque, et ait poussé rapidement sa fortune.[3]

The Montanists appear to have had great religious vitality, which would have enabled the movement to gain ground quite quickly.

There is yet one unique approach to the dating of Montanism which must be considered: that put

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[1] J. Daniélou (The First Six Hundred Years, Trans. V. Cronin (The Christian Centuries, 1)(London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1964), p. 101) and R.M. Grant (Augustus to Constantine (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970), p. 133) attempt to reconcile the dates given by Epiphanius and Eusebius. Both Daniélou and Grant say the movement started in 156-7. Daniélou then goes on to say that 172 was the date at which Montanism reached its height in Asia Minor, while Grant says 172 was the date at which the movement was condemned in that region. These interpretations suffer because both scholars refer only to Epiphanius' date and the date given by Eusebius in the Chronica. Neither makes reference to the chronological information relevant to Montanism which can be inferred from H.E., 5, 3:4.

[2] See p. 201f. above.

[3] de Labriolle, p. 573.

forward by J. de Soyres. His argument is that Maximilla died in 175 A.D. (her death being followed by 13 years of peace: Commodus' reign[1]) and that she is supposed to have outlived her two colleagues.[2] However, Apollonius wrote while all three were alive (he addresses them in the present tense). Therefore, he wrote about 165 or 166. However, he also wrote 40 years after the appearance of Montanism. On the basis of this argument, de Soyres places the date of Montanism's outbreak at 126 A.D.[3]

There are two weaknesses in this argument. First, as has been shown above,[4] the date of Maximilla's death is uncertain and may well have been much later than de Soyres and others state. Secondly, de Labriolle faults this argument by saying that Apollonius' use of the present tense is an instance of lively rhetoric, and that the people he is addressing are probably

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[1]See p. 201 above.

[2]See p. 201 above.

[3]de Soyres, p. 29.

[4]See p. 201f. above.

dead.[1] These two weaknesses serve to remove much of the weight de Soyres' argument may have carried.

As one goes about trying to assemble the sources for a history of Montanism he soon discovers that there was once more information on the subject than there is now. Apollonius[2] refers to a "general epistle" that an early Montanist, Themiso, wrote, and Hippolytus talks about the Montanists' "having endless books of their own,"[3]: all of these are lost. de Labriolle says that Tertullian's use of the words "Sic et alibi" at the beginning of Oracle 7[4] shows that he was using a collection of Montanist oracles.[5] If this is the case, the collection in question is no longer known. Some information about Montanism was lost when Eusebius was sifting his sources in preparation for writing his history: he omitted the

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[1] de Labriolle, p. 586

[2] In Eusebius, H.E., 5, 18:5.

[3] Hippolytus, Philosophumena, 8, 436-437 (MG, 16), 3366.

[4] Tertullian, De fuga in persecutione, 9.

[5] de Labriolle, p. 52.

section of the anonymous writer's book in which Montanist teachings were refuted.[1] In spite of these losses, Asiatic Montanism is not a sealed book. There are, in fact, three sources of information which may be tapped and it is to these that attention will now be turned.

The first source is a collection of 19 oracles. Of these, it is quite certain that 16 are of Montanist origin while the exact classification of three is dubious. de Labriolle has collected these oracles, subjected them to a thorough textual study, and commented upon them in his book La crise montaniste.[2]

The oracles are all short, pithy statements: none of them can be regarded in any sense as an exposition of Montanist doctrine. They appear to be pronouncements given by the prophets to meet specific life situations. Because they are of this nature, the Montanist teaching revealed in them must be found lying behind them, giving them the form and content

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[1]Eusebius, H.E., 5, 16:11.

[2]de Labriolle, pp. 34-105.

they have. However, their importance is not to be underestimated. They are, after all, the only extant material coming from the Asiatic Montanist community, and produced by the Montanists themselves. When the study of Montanist prophecy is undertaken these oracles will be given the place of primary importance.[1] The secondary material, both ancient and modern, will be used to illuminate further the material to be found in the oracles.

The second source for a history of Asiatic Montanism is the various discussions of Montanism contained in the writings of several early Christian authors.[2] Eight authors offer accounts that merit consideration. They are:

1. An unnamed writer, Apollonius, and Serapion in Eusebius' H.E., 5;
2. Hippolytus, Philosophumena 8;

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[1]See A. Harnack's comment on the Montanist oracles in History of Dogma, Trans. from the 3rd German edition by N. Buchanan (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964 (c.1900)), II, 95 n.2.

[2]It will be noted that Tertullian is missing from this list. For a discussion of his relationship to Montanism see p. 257f.

3. Didymus, De trinitate 3;

4. Epiphanius, Panarion 48;

5. Jerome, Epistula 41 and De viris illustribus;

6. Theodoret, Haereticorum Fabularum 49.

The value of these authors' works for a history of Montanism lies in their ability to add a limited amount of flesh to the skeletal picture afforded by the Montanist oracles. Some of these men were contemporaries of Montanus, while others lived shortly after the appearance of the Montanist movement. Without their writings virtually all traces of Asiatic Montanism would have vanished.

However, in spite of the value these documents have for a history of Montanism, they must be approached with caution. There were several factors present which must have made it quite difficult for these authors to arrive at a balanced, accurate view of Montanism. First, they wrote at a time when the modern historical standards of objectivity and impartiality were unknown. It is possible that they put forth an effort to be factually correct, but the ancient historian was not as concerned about this as is his modern counterpart.

Secondly, all of these writers were members of the Church Catholic, and they were writing against a movement which they regarded as heretical. Their goal was to protect the church's doctrine and practice from perversion. Thirdly, this need for protection must have been very keenly felt in the latter half of the second century. At this time, the churches scattered about the empire were just beginning to achieve something like uniformity of doctrine and practice on a regional scale. It is still too early to think about anything like empire-wide uniformity. Furthermore, the fabric of such uniformity as had been realized was gossamer. Therefore, it is to be expected that if anything threatened to tear the material its defenders would react strenuously. And in fact, the character-assassination to which they turned in their attempts to eradicate Montanism[1] shows that they did react strenuously. While it is certain that such

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[1]Lombard says, "Moralement coupable, puis intellectuellement égarés: telle est la loi à laquelle l'auteur catholique s'efforce de ramener le cas de Montan et des premiers montanistes." (p. 281). See also Lietzmann p. 200f. and de Labriolle, p. 162.

considerations make it imperative to handle this secondary material cautiously, W. Bauer probably goes too far in his denunciation of the work of the anonymous author and Apollonius when he says,

> Taken as a whole, both of the books with which we have become acquainted here are hardly anything more than abusive satires. That of Apollonius merits the title to a higher degree than that of "the anonymous." One must reject as biased all of the judgments found in these works, even if they are delivered in the costume of historical narrative.[1]

The third source for the history of Asiatic Montanism is provided by epigraphy. In this area, the work of W.M. Calder is most outstanding. He and his associates have recorded and classified hundreds of inscriptions from Asia Minor.[2] A number of these Calder has identified as Montanist and as dating around and

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[1]W. Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, Ed. G. Strecker, Translation Ed. R.A.Kraft and G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), p.141. For further discussion of the value of Eusebius' sources of information on Montanism see P. de Labriolle, Les Sources de l'Histoire de Montanisme (Paris: Leroux, 1913), p. 29f. He recognizes their worth, but also acknowledges that caution is necessary when using them.

[2]See Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua (The Manchester University Press), vols. 1, 6, 7, and 8.

shortly after 200 A.D.[1] These inscriptions reveal the Montanists as extremely bold Christians, who were prepared to let their allegiance to Christianity be generally known.[2] The primary value of the inscriptions is found in the evidence they provide for the dispersion and concentration of Montanists in Asia Minor. They offer no information for Montanist prophecy and therefore, will not play a part in the discussion which follows.

The first direction in which we shall turn in a study of prophecy among the early Montanists is towards the sixteen undisputed Montanist oracles. With these oracles in hand, the first question to be asked is: in Montanist thought, what was the inner condition of the prophet during prophecy?

In dealing with this question, the locus classicus is the oracle preserved by Epiphanius in Panarion 48:4 -

Ἰδοὺ, ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ λύρα κἀγὼ ἅπτομαι

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[1]W.M. Calder, 'Early-Christian Epitaphs from Phrygia,' Anatolian Studies 5-6(1955-56)31. See also 'Philadelphia and Montanism,' Bulletin of the John Rylands Library 7(1923)309-354 by the same author.

[2]Calder, 'Early-Christian Epitaphs,' p. 28.

ὡσεὶ πλῆκτρον.[1] ὁ ἄνθρωπος κοιμᾶται, κἀγὼ
γρηγορῶ. Ἰδοὺ, Κύριός ἐστιν ὁ ἐξιστάνων καρδίας
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διδοὺς καρδίας ἀνθρώποις.[2]

The central message of this passage is that during the act of prophecy, God is in complete control of the prophet: the first two parts of the strophe emphasize this. First, an image is drawn from the world of music. The prophet while prophesying is an instrument which is being played by God.[3] In the production of instrumental music there must, of course, be an instrument in playable conditions: its keys, strings, valves, or skins are essential. However, before sound comes from that instrument it must be

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[1]See Clement, The Instructor, 4 (ANF, 4), p. 49 - "By the lyre is meant the mouth struck by the Spirit, as it were by a plectrum." de Labriolle says this image was common in Syria, Greece, and Rome in the second and third centuries.

[2]Epiphanius regarded these words as those of an ecstatic who was describing his experience in the hopes that he would be looked on as a prophet--Panarion 48:4; MG, 41.

[3]See Athenagoras, A Plea for the Christians, 9, Trans. B.P. Pratten (ANF, 2)(Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1962), p. 133.

touched by a musician, and in addition the type of music produced--be it Gilbert and Sullivan or Chopin--depends entirely upon him. Similarly, for there to be prophecy there must be someone willing to prophesy, but when he does so and what he says depends completely upon God.

The second part of the strophe further clarifies Montanist thought regarding prophecy. God is pictured as acting through a man who is asleep. This stresses the passivity of the prophet during prophecy--it is as though his natural faculties were asleep.[1] He does not compose his message nor plan his actions. God works through him.

Therefore, in Montanist thought, during prophecy the prophet is passive. God controls him and delivers the message He wants spoken through him.

When one turns his attention to the content of these messages delivered 'under the control of God', what has already been observed is reinforced. In the oracles which have been preserved, there is a recurring

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[1]de Labriolle, p. 49. See p. 95 n. 1 and p. 151 n. 1.

theme having to do with the relationship between the prophet and God. This is found in the oracles contained in Epiphanius' Panarion, 48:11 (2 oracles here), 48: 12, Eusebius' H.E., 5, 16:17, Tertullian's De pudicitia, 21, and Didymus' De trinitate, 3:41. The common denominator of all these passages is that in every one some or other member of the Trinity (or all of them) is assumed to have been in the Montanist concerned and to have spoken through him (or her). We shall look at two oracles which illustrate this.

Μοντανὸς γάρ, φησὶν, εἶπεν· Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Πατὴρ, καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ ὁ Παράκλητος.[1]

Ἐμοῦ μὴ ἀκούσητε, ἀλλὰ Χριστοῦ ἀκούσατε.[2]

In the first of these oracles, Montanus was the Montanist involved and in the second it was Maximilla.[3]

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[1]Didymus, De Trinitate, 3:41; MG, 39, 984.

[2]Epiphanius, Panarion, 48:12; MG, 41.

[3]Statements such as these were regarded by early critics of Montanism as attempts by the Montanists to glorify themselves: see Epiphanius, Panarion, 48:11; MG, 41, 872 and Didymus, De trinitate, 3, 41; MG 984. This does not necessarily mean, however, that

The idea expressed in these oracles corresponds well with the assumption of God-possession during prophecy.

Consequently, Montanist prophecy appears as a type of ecstasy in which it is assumed that God is in control of the prophet during the act of prophecy and speaks through him.

We may now ask from where this concept of prophecy came. In reply to this question, it must be noted that in pagan literature there are many references both to god-possession and to a god's speaking through a man,[1] and the phenomena found in these references are comparable in many respects to those found in Montanist prophecy. Must it then be assumed that Montanist prophecy was divorced from contemporary Christianity? There are at least two factors which suggest that this was not the case.

First, it is important to note how the mainstream

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these critics assumed that the Montanists were claiming divinity. These passages should be interpreted in the light of Panarion 48:4, where Montanus is charged with trying to get himself enrolled among the prophets.

[1]See p. 95 n. 1 and p. 151 n.1 above.

of the Church about the time of the appearance of Montanism understood OT prophecy. Several of the Greek apologists belong to this period and some of their works do offer information. Justin asserts that the Spirit spoke through the prophets and the psalmist[1]; Theophilus states that the OT prophets were possessed by God,[2] and Athenagoras says regarding Moses, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other OT prophets,

> ...,who, lifted in ecstasy above the natural operations of their minds by the impulses of the Divine Spirit, uttered the things with which they were inspired, the Spirit making use of them as a flute player breathes into a flute.[3]

The emphasis in these passages is upon the activity of God and the passivity of the prophet. These apologists looked upon OT prophecy in a way very similar to that in which their non-Christian contemporaries looked upon pagan prophecy. It must be

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[1]Justin, I Apology, 31 and 44, and Dialogue with Trypho, 37 (ANF, 1)(Grand Rapids:Wm.B. Eerdmans, n.d.), pp. 173, 177, and 213.

[2]Theophilus, 3 Ad Autolycum, 17 (ANF, 2), p. 116.

[3]Athenagoras, The Supplication for the Christians, 9 (ANF, 2), p. 133.

acknowledged that these three men came to Christianity through the Hellenistic thought-world and had absorbed many of its ideas. However, they were probably among the least credulous members of the Christian community and therefore among those who would be the most critical of the pagan world around them. If they held a view of OT prophecy similar to the contemporary view of pagan philosophy it is likely that the rest of the Church did also.

The Greek apologists reveal something of what the second-century Church thought about prophecy during this time. What was the inner experience of the Christian prophet? There is no non-Montanist example coming from the second half of the second century, but the sub-apostolic period offers Ignatius for consideration.

On the strength of Philadelphians 7:1b and 2, Ignatius appears as a prophet-bishop.[1] H. Bacht argues that Ignatius is to be distinguished from contemporary pagan prophets because he does not claim 'divine madness' (ἔκφρων) during his act of

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[1]See p. 150ff. above.

prophecy.[1] However, F.J. Dölger has asserted effectively that the use of the words "a loud voice, God's voice" shows that Ignatius thought he was under the control of God.[2] Therefore, a reference to 'divine madness' would be superfluous. The experience of this Christian prophet seems to correspond well to the way in which the second-century Church understood the OT prophets.

Therefore, it may be concluded that the Montanist view and experience of prophecy were very similar to those of mainstream Christianity of the time. Both feature the idea of God's taking possession of the prophet and speaking through him. Furthermore, prophecy in both these segments of the Early Church shared much with the pagan world. Reitzenstein is probably correct when he says that in form, if not in content, early Christian prophecy was indebted to paganism.[3]

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[1]H. Bacht, 'Die Prophetische Inspiration in der kirchlichen Reflexion der vormontanistischen Zeit,' Scholastik 19 (1944)12.

[2]Dölger, p. 218.

[3]Reitzenstein, Die hellenistischen Mysterien-religionen, p. 240.

When the early critics of Montanism are consulted the nature of the charismatic phenomena occurring in this primitive religious movement takes on greater complexity. On one hand there are the Montanist oracles which, in so far as language goes, are clear, readily understandable statements. Διώκομαι ὡς λύκος ἐκ προβάτων· οὐκ εἰμὶ λύκος· ῥῆμά εἰμι καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ δύναμις .[1] The words themselves in this oracle, as in those quoted above,[2] are not obscure. Anyone who was able to understand Greek would have known what Maximilla had said if he had heard her. On the other hand, there are three passages in Apolinarius' refutation of Montanism which is preserved by Eusebius in which the Montanists are described as speaking obscure, out-of-the-ordinary languages. We shall examine these three passages carefully in hopes of finding an explanation for the apparent contradiction.

H.E., 5, 16:7 - "... becoming filled with God (ἐνθουσιᾶν) he began to talk and to speak strangely

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[1]Eusebius, H.E., 5, 16:17.

[2]See pp. 214f. and 217 above.

(ξενοφωνεῖν).[1] In this instance, the result of an indwelling by God was unusual speech. H.E., 5, 16:9- "..., so that they [Maximilla and Priscilla] spoke in a frenzy (ἐκφρόνως), unsuitably (ἀκαίρως) and in a strange manner (ἀλλοτριότροπως[2] --literally, in a manner belonging to another). Both of these passages emphasize the strangeness of the Montanists' speech.

H.E., 5, 16:12 - "..., because we did not receive ἀμετροφώνους αὐτῶν προφήτας..." The key word is ἀμετροφώνους and it has been variously translated: Lake offers 'chattering';[3] McGiffert renders it as 'loquacious';[4] Bardy presents bavards;[5] Haeuser

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[1] ξενοφωνέω - seems to have the same sense here as in Dexippus' In Aristotelis Categories commentarium, 6, 17, and Sophonias' De anima paraphrasis, 47.

[2] This is the only occurrence of ἀλλοτριότροπως in Greek literature--G.W.H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 77.

[3] Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, Trans. K. Lake (LCL)(London: William Heinemann, 1926), p. 479.

[4] The Church History of Eusebius, Trans. A.C. McGiffert (NPNF, series 2, 1)(Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1951), p. 232.

[5] Eusebius, Histoire Ecclésiastique, Trans. G. Bardy (SCH, 41)(Paris: Cerf, 1955), p. 49.

uses geschwätzigen,[1] and Oulton's treatment of the whole phrase produces 'prophets of unbridled tongues'.[2] These translators come up with different words, but they are in general agreement as to meaning: the Montanist prophets spoke at great length or very often.

However, there is no objective check which may be applied to the translations of this passage, because this seems to be the only place in Greek literature where the word ἀμετροφώνος appears.[3] When confronted with a situation like this, the translator must carefully examine the possible meanings of the smaller words which make up the word with which he is concerned and then decide which combination of these meanings best suits the context in which the word is found. The constituent words of ἀμετροφώνος are ἄμετρος ,

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[1]Eusebius, Kirchengeschichte, Trans. P. Haeuser (Bibliothek der Kirchenväter, Ed. O. Bardenhewer and J. Zellinger, 2nd. series, 1)(Munich: Josef Kasel & Friedrich Pustet, 1932), p. 240.

[2]Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History and the Martyrs of Palestine, Trans. J.E.L. Oulton (London: S.P.C.K., 1954), p. 160.

[3]Lampe, p. 88.

which may mean boundless, immense, immeasurable, infinite, immoderate, or neverceasing, and φωνή, which may be translated sound of the voice, faculty of speech, speech, or language.

Before attempting to arrive at a translation of ἀμετροφώνος, it will be helpful to see how several scholars have handled these passages in which unusual speech is mentioned. K.S. Latourette[1] and E. Lombard[2] both regard Montanus' unintelligible speech as glossolalia. A. Hollard says with reference to H.E. 5, 16:6ff., "Le phénomène de la glossolalie se mêlait certainement à ces manifestations extatiques."[3] Others are not prepared to go that far. P. Schaff,[4] Lietzmann,[5] and de Labriolle[6] are cautious, but are willing to say

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[1] K.S. Latourette, A History of Christianity (New York: Harper & Row, 1953), p. 128.

[2] Lombard, p. 299.

[3] A. Hollard, Deux hérétiques: Marcion et Montan (Paris: Éditions de la Nouvelle Revue Critique, n.d.), p. 54.

[4] Schaff, p. 418.

[5] Lietzmann, II, 194.

[6] de Labriolle, p. 171.

that there were certainly signs of glossolalia among the Montanists.

Keeping the meanings of ἄμετρος and φωνή and the comments of these scholars in mind, one may suggest a translation for ἀμετροφώνους...προφήτας: prophets who speak in an indefinite number of what sound like languages. This could then be regarded as a reference to glossolalia.

An explanation for the two different modes of speech in Montanism now becomes available. It is probable that two of the ancient Christian charismata existed in Montanism: prophecy and glossolalia.[1]

Montanism broke upon the Church in Asia Minor, disrupting its life, in the early 170's A.D. Once it had recovered from its initial shock, the Church, in sometimes passionate tones, set about to cut short the life of this 'heresy of the Phrygians! That which the Church seems to have found the most unacceptable in Montanism was a type of ecstatic utterance which the Montanist thought resulted from

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[1]For a study of glossolalia in the Early Church see Emile Lombard, De la glossolalia chez les premiers chrétiens et de phénomènes similaires: étude d'exégese et de psychologie (Paris: Fischbacher, 1910).

being possessed by God. This prophetic activity shared much with pagan religious experience, but it also had much in common with contemporary understanding and practice in mainstream Christianity. A careful study of the texts of the Montanist oracles and of comments made by early critics of the movement showed that within Montanist circles two charismata which marked the primitive Church continued in operation: prophecy and glossolalia.

Celsus

The next piece of implicit evidence from the second century comes out of a literary debate. Towards the end of his career, near 248 A.D.[1], Origen was asked by a certain Ambrose[2] to prepare a critique of an attack which had been made on Christianity-- an attack which had been launched some 70 years earlier[3] by a Platonist philosopher,[4] Celsus, in his book Αληθὴς λόγος . The outcome of this request is

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[1]This date is arrived at on the basis of a statement made by Eusebius in which he says that Origen wrote the Contra Celsum when he was over sixty years of age (H.E., 6, 36:1). Origen was 17 when his father was martyred in 202-203, so he must have been born in 185 or 186. Therefore, he would be 60 in 245 or 246. H. Chadwick (Origen: Contra Celsum (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), p. xivf.) points to internal evidence which makes a date near 248 A.D. seem the most probable.

[2]Origen, Contra Celsum, preface, 1, Trans. H. Chadwick, p. 3.

[3]Regarding the date of Celsus' attack see Chadwick, p. xxviii and K.J. Neumann, 'Celsus' in Pauly-Wissowa, Realencyclopadie (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1899),col.1884.

[4]In Contra Celsum, 1, 8, Origen calls him an Epicurean as does Eusebius in H.E., 6, 36:2. However, when all the evidence is considered it seems better to regard Celsus as having been influenced by Middle Platonism. See Neumann,col.1884 and Chadwick, p.xxivff.

Origen's Contra Celsum. In this work, Origen proceeds by citing passages from Celsus' book and then commenting upon them critically.

One of the passages quoted by Origen reveals that Celsus was familiar with some sort of charismatic behaviour, and thus it is germane to the present study. We shall look carefully at the passage in question, enquire into the nature of the charismatic activity which Celsus saw, and attempt to identify in a general way the charismatics whom Celsus had met.

The passage with which we are concerned is found in Contra Celsum, 7, 9 -

> There are many, he says, who become enraptured and prophesy very easily on any grounds, both in temples and outside of temples, and there are some who--begging and visiting cities and camps periodically--are gesticulating and posturing (κινοῦνται) as if they are prophesying. And it is convenient and customary for each one to say, "I am God, or a son of God, or a divine spirit. And I have come. For the world is already perishing, and you, O men, are dying (οἴχεσθε) because of wickedness. But I want to save you. And you shall see me returning hereafter with heavenly power. Blessed is he who has now worshipped me. Upon all others I shall cast eternal fire, on both cities and country regions. And men who do not know their penalties shall repent and groan in vain. But I

> shall preserve eternally those who believe in me."... To these things which were held up before men were added unheard of (ἄγνωστα), raving (πάροιστρα), and entirely unknown speech (πάντη ἄδηλα), the meaning of which no rational man was able to determine; for being obscure and meaningless (ἀσαφῆ ...καὶ τὸ μηδέν) they allow any irrational person (ἀνόητος) or cheat (γόης) to make of the words whatever he wishes.[1]

Celsus insists that this is an eyewitness report.

The argument which Origen carries on with Celsus in the first few chapters of the seventh book of the Contra Celsum grows out of an attempt on the part of Celsus to show that it is really not valid for Christians to attempt to find predictions about Christ in the OT prophets. Origen says, "It is Celsus' object to criticize the assertion that the history of Christ Jesus was prophesied by the prophets among the Jews."[2] Celsus proceeds by pointing out that the Christians disparage the various Greek oracle-delivering priests and priestesses (who he thinks played an important role in

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[1] This is Koetschau's text (Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller, 2-3, 1899) translated by the present writer.

[2] Origen, Contra Celsum, 7, 2, Chadwick, p. 395.

the history of their nation), while they accept the prophets of Judaism.[1] He also asserts that there is a connection between the manner in which the Jewish prophets prophesied and the kind of prophecy he had observed in Phoenicia and Palestine.[2] Origen makes us wait before we are allowed to see the significance of the connection which Celsus has made.

Finally, in Contra Celsum, 7, 9 (the passage quoted on the previous page) Origen permits Celsus to tell us what kind of prophecy he had seen. It is obvious from the way in which he describes this prophecy that Celsus regards it as a very debased variety and that he wants his readers to see it in the same way. Consequently, by saying that Jews had prophesied in the same manner, Celsus wishes to depreciate Jewish prophecy and in doing so, to undercut the credibility of the OT predictions concerning Christ.

Origen protested vigorously against this procedure. He does not impugn Celsus' claim to have seen and

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[1] Contra Celsum, 7, 3, Chadwick, p. 395f.

[2] Contra Celsum, 7, 3, Chadwick, p. 396.

heard prophets: that he accepts,[1] but he denies absolutely that it is valid to compare these prophets with the OT prophets. Origen attacks Celsus on two fronts.

First, Origen attempts to demonstrate the weakness of the comparison itself. He baldly asserts that the OT prophets differ from any prophets who may be found in pagan circles, but he does not attempt to say in what ways they are different.[2] He then argues that there had been no prophet among the Jews

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[1]See G.P. Wetter, "Der Sohn Gottes." Eine Untersuchung über den Charakter und die Tendenz des Johannes-Evangelium (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1916), p. 5. B. Layton ('The Sources, Date and Transmission of Didache 1.3b - 2.1,' HThR 61 (1968)382 n. 81) is inaccurate when he says that Origen "...brands CELSUS a liar for having asserted that in his day (a.D. 180 ca.) wandering Christian prophets could be seen in Phoenicia and Palestine." In fact, Origen charges Celsus with not saying to what group the prophets to which he referred belonged (See pp.236ff. below for a discussion of the identity of Celsus' prophets including an examination of their relationship to Christianity.) and with lying when he claimed that the prophets, when cross-examined, had admitted to being frauds (See Contra Celsum, 7, 11).

[2]Origen, Contra Celsum, 7, 8, Chadwick, p. 401.

since the birth of Jesus, because the Holy Spirit had left the Jewish nation.[1] There is another criticism of Celsus' comparison implicit in Contra Celsum, 7, 10.[2] Here Origen maligns Celsus for not having quoted specific prophecies uttered by those whom he had heard. He goes on to point out that the contemporaries of the OT prophets had carefully preserved for posterity the messages which had been delivered to them. The implication is that the contemporaries of the prophets with whom Celsus was acquainted did not regard the oracles of these men as being important enough to be recorded in writing, and therefore, that the OT prophets and the prophets that Celsus had heard were quite different.

Secondly, Origen has critical comments to make about Celsus' reference to obscure language. The treatment Origen gives this subject[3] suggests that he thought Celsus was using something like the following syllogism: all OT prophets acted in the

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[1]Origen, 7, 8, Chadwick, p. 401.

[2]Chadwick, p. 403.

[3]Origen, 7, 10, Chadwick, p. 403.

same way as the prophets with whom Celsus was familiar; the prophets with whom Celsus was familiar sometimes spoke in obscure language, therefore all OT prophets sometimes spoke in obscure language. Origen, himself, accepts this conclusion. In fact Celsus does not explicitly charge OT prophets with using obscure speech, although this may have been in his mind: Origen thought it was. Origen then traces this attitude which he thinks is implied in Celsus' words to Celsus' frustration at not being able to understand certain OT passages.

When one turns to Contra Celsum, 7, 9 in order to examine the nature of the charismatic phenomena with which Celsus had come into contact, he finds himself confronted by familiar conditions.[1] On one hand, the prophets whom Celsus had heard make an apparent claim to divinity couched in the usual words: "I am God, or a son of God, or a divine spirit."[2] On the other hand, these prophets were marked by enigmatic speech.

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[1] See p. 215ff. above.

[2] For a discussion of this expression see p. 237 below.

The description of this phenomenon which Celsus gives and the language which he uses (ἄγνωστα, πάροιστρα, πάντη ἄδηλα) make it reasonable to infer that what he had observed was an instance, or instances, of glossolalia accompanied with interpretation[1]. H. Lietzmann says,

> When Celsus adds that the speech ran out into incomprehensible and crazy sounds, which conveyed no meaning, and which were, nevertheless, expounded by a man who could only have been a fraud, the case was obviously an example of the familiar glossolalia with subsequent interpretation.[2]

This opinion is stated with equal strength by G. Hölscher[3] and H. Weinel.[4] E. Lombard recognizes that Celsus is describing something at least analogous to

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[1] See p. 75ff. above.

[2] H. Lietzmann, The Founding of the Church Universal, (A History of the Early Church, Trans. B.L. Woolf, 2)(London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), p. 55.

[3] G. Hölscher, Die Profeten: Untersuchungen zur Religionsgeschichte Israels (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1914), p. 35.

[4] H. Weinel, Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostolischen Zeitalter bis auf Irenäus (Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr(Paul Siebeck), 1899), p. 76.

glossolalia accompanied by interpretation.[1] In view of linguistic considerations and the weight of scholarly opinion,it seems safe to assume that the charismatics whom Celsus met were involved in both prophecy and glossolalia.

Establishing the identity of the prophets to whom Celsus refers, i.e., determining the religious community to which they belonged, is a substantial problem. The uncertainty which shrouds the question is apparent even in Origen, who says, "But he did not make it clear whether he is referring to certain people alien to the doctrine of Jews and Christians, or to people who prophesy according to the pattern of prophets."[2]

There is one fact that is certain and that is that the instances of prophecy referred to by Celsus were not an isolated occurrence of something which was unusual in the world of that time. On the contrary, there were many examples to be found of charismatic-

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[1]Lombard, p. 314f. See also Wetter, p. 22.

[2]Origen, 7, 8, Chadwick, p. 401.

pneumatic activity.[1] Wetter has good grounds for saying,

> So scheint es gar nichts Erstaunliches gewesen zu sein, wenn man auf den Wegen und Strassen der antiken Welt Leuten begegnete, die da behaupteten, dass sie Götter oder Gottessöhne seien, oder die dafür von den sich um sie scharenden Gläubigen gehalten wurden.[2]

That period was familiar with the activity of prophets, who functioned within many different religious communities.

The search for the identity of Celsus' prophets is not aided by considering the divinity-claiming formula (ἐγὼ ὁ θεός εἰμι, ἢ θεοῦ παῖς, ἢ πνεῦμα θεῖον[3]) which he records. Although this sounds very much like an oracle of the Montanist, Maximilla, preserved by Eusebius,[4] it is not proof that the prophets Celsus had met were Montanists. There is a considerable amount of evidence of god-possession or a god's speaking through a man--of which the

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[1]See p. 95 n. 1 and p. 151 n. 1 above.

[2]Wetter, p. 117.

[3]Origen, 7, 9 (Koetschau, 1899).

[4]Eusebius, H.E., 5, 16:17.

experience out of which this expression came seems to be an example--in both Christian and non-Christian circles during the first two centuries of the Christian era.[1]

From the above we have seen that charismatic-ecstatic phenomena were known in a wide range of religious communities during Celsus time. However, the possibility remains that it was in fact Christian prophets whom Celsus had met:[2] there are two factors

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[1]See p. 95 n.1 and p.151 n. 1 above. R. Reitzenstein. (Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1927³), p. 316) points out that similar expressions are to be found in purely pagan texts and the Mandaean literature. However, the contents of the Mandaean texts are difficult to date. The earliest extant Mandaic text dates from 400 A.D., but some of the material is much earlier. (See E.M. Yamauchi, 'The Present Status of Mandaean Studies,' Journal of Near Eastern Studies 25(1966)89.)

Lombard (De la glossolalia chez les premiers Chretiens, p. 315.) argues that Celsus' prophets may not have been Montanists because there is no proof that Montanism had spread into Palestine by the time Celsus wrote. However, this suggestion is based on too many uncertainties: it is not known exactly when Celsus wrote (See p. 228 above.) nor when Montanism began (See p. 204ff. above.)

[2]Lietzmann accepts this as fact, but perhaps he does so too facilely (p. 55).

which lend credibility to this. First, the kind of pneumatic experience recorded by Celsus was not foreign to the Church of the second century: people both within and without mainstream Christianity were experiencing it.[1] Secondly, Celsus knew Christianity well enough to have come across such prophets. He was sufficiently familiar with the inner workings of the Church to be able to distinguish between the main body of Christianity and the various sects; for example, he was familiar with the Marcionites and the Gnostics, and to some extent, with their ideas.[2] Consequently, if there were prophets in the Church of the late second century, as there seems to have been, then one may assume that Celsus would have known about them. In view of these factors, it is possible to assume that the prophets to whom Celsus makes reference were Christians.

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[1] See p. 218ff.

[2] See Origen, 5, 61, and 62, Chadwick, p. 311f. However, Origen does charge Celsus with being inaccurate in his statements about some sects--Origen, 5, 61, and 62, Chadwick, p. 311f.

Celsus offers material which is of value for the present study. Embedded in his attack upon Christianity is a record of charismatic behaviour including prophecy and glossolalia, and he claims to have been an eye-witness. While it cannot be proven conclusively, it is possible that the prophets to whom Celsus referred were Christians.

The Apocryphal Acts

By the third quarter of the first century, the Church was beginning to commit her thoughts and records to writing. The first generation of the followers of Jesus had been willing to leave their traditions in a largely oral form, but circumstances necessitated a change in policy. Time was passing. The Parousia was delayed. Christians began to realize that if they were to retain a record of the life and words of their Master and of His early followers, they must write. Furthermore, the rapid spread of the new faith made it impossible for the community's leaders to be physically present everywhere to guide development. They must write. Thus the Church was led into the literary field, and it quickly learned to employ this medium to its advantage. Since then, a great variety and a prodigious amount of literature has appeared under the name 'Christian'.

Many of the documents produced in Christian communities in the first three centuries were concerned with giving information about Jesus and His apostles. The passage of time made it possible for the Church

to realize that some of the documents it had in its hands were of greater value than others. The greater ability of these materials to edify led to their being given a larger place in the Christian community than was granted to the others. These favoured writings became the Canonical books, while those held in less favour came to be regarded as non-canonical or Apocryphal.

One of the books destined for the Canon, The Acts of the Apostles, seems to have prompted the production of other books: the Apocryphal Acts. These Acta attempted to say more than the canonical Acts did about individual apostles and to use their authority against heresy.[1] They assumed a fabulous and legendary nature, and they did so to such an extent that their value as historical documents (in the usual sense of the term) must be regarded as minimal: the records they give cannot be received as authentic. However, B.M. Metzger has made a valuable observation about the NT Apocrypha as a whole:

Yet the New Testament Apocrypha are important

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[1] W. Schneemelcher, 'The Origin of Pseudapostolic Literature,' Trans. G. Ogg, Hennecke: II, 32.

> documents in their own way. True enough, as historical sources of the Apostolic age they are negligible. The permanent value of this body of literature lies in another direction, namely in reflecting the beliefs of their authors and the tastes of their early readers who found profit as well as entertainment in tales of this kind. That is, the New Testament Apocrypha are important as historical documents which tell us much, not about the age with which they profess to deal, but about the age which gave them birth. They purport to be reliable accounts of the words and deeds of the Apostles; in reality they set forth under the names of the Apostles certain ideals of Christian life and conceptions of Christian faith current in the second and succeeding centuries.[1]

W. Schneemelcher makes a similar comment regarding the speeches in the Acts of Paul.[2]

When looked upon in this way, the Apocrypha becomes an effective means of gaining entrance to the minds of the authors and their contemporaries, and to a lesser extent, to their religious experience. The importance granted to the Apocrypha is to be laid not on what is said to have happened, but upon what the authors and their public could conceive of as happening.

In view of the foregoing, how can the Apocryphal

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[1]B.M. Metzger, An Introduction to the Apocrypha (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 263.

[2]Schneemelcher, 'Acts of Paul, 'Trans. R.McL. Wilson, Hennecke, II, 350f.

Acts be of use in the present study? They must be examined in order to find an answer to the following question: is there any indication in these documents that the communities from which they arose were familiar with the charismata?

The answer to this question is a qualified "yes". As the authors of the five major Acts[1] try to embellish their heroes, they describe events certain features of which bear marked similarities to the charismata dis-

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[1]These are: The Acts of Peter, The Acts of Paul, The Acts of Andrew, The Acts of John, and The Acts of Thomas. These Acts do not all date from the same period nor did they all arise from the same branch of Christianity. The first three probably belong to the second century (See C. Schmidt, Πράξεις Παύλου , Acta Pauli nach dem Papyrus der Hamburger Staats-und Universitätsbibliothek unter Mitarbeit von W. Schubart hrsg. (Hamburg: J.J. Augustin, 1936), p. 130; W. Schneemelcher,'The Acts of Peter,' Trans. G.C. Stead, Hennecke, II, 275; O. Bardenhewer, Patrology, Trans. H.C. Graef (Edinburgh-London: Nelson, 1960, p. 73, and M. Hornschuh, 'Acts of Andrew', Trans. E. Best, Hennecke, II, 396) and appeared in orthodox circles (See Bardenhewer, p. 100; Hornschuh, II, 395, and Altaner, p. 74.). It is probable that the last two Acts date from the third century (See K. Schäferdiek, 'The Acts of John, Trans. G.C. Stead, Hennecke, II, 213 and G. Bornkamm, 'The Acts of Thomas,' Trans. R.McL. Wilson, Hennecke, II, 440.) and come from Gnostic communities (See Schäferdiek, II, 215 and Bornkamm, II, 440.).

cussed in the NT. We shall give our attention to each of the several types into which these phenomena mentioned by the apocryphal writers can be divided. As we do so, we shall see both that there is enough similarity between the occurrences in question and the charismata and that the references to these phenomena are frequent enough to warrant one's assuming that the authors of the Apocryphal Acts were familiar with the charismata. However, before one asserts this too strongly, he must acknowledge that there is an alternate explanation for the appearance of what look like the charismata in the Apocryphal Acts: it may simply be the result of the various authors' using traditional modes of expression.

When one turns to the Apocryphal Acts, he finds, first, that there are several instances when special knowledge is given to an apostle. This occurs twice in the case of Paul. Once he is told that a woman who had come to receive the Eucharist had come out of a moral situation which made her unworthy to participate.[1] On another occasion, a young man had fallen to his death

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[1]'Acts of Peter,' 2, Trans. G.C. Stead, Hennecke, II, 280.

while Paul was preaching. The man had been Nero's cup-bearer and messengers were immediately sent to the emperor. Paul perceived this turn of events "... in the spirit,..."[1]

The Apostle John is portrayed as having had this sort of experience also. At one time, John was able to announce to a congregation what one of its members had done and thought before he came into the service,[2] and at another he was able to read a man's thoughts.[3]

All four of these instances could be interpreted as the actions of a clairvoyant, but the way in which the authors present them points in another direction. In each case the reception of the special knowledge is associated with the Spirit. Acts of Peter, 2 says Paul was "...spiritus dei repletus..." before he spoke to Rufina;[4] in discussing Paul's knowledge, Acts of Paul

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[1] 'Acts of Paul,' 11, 1, Trans. R.McL. Wilson, Hennecke, II, 383. See also Acts 20:9.

[2] 'Acts of John,' 46, Trans. G.C. Stead, Hennecke, II, 238.

[3] 'Acts of John,' 56: II, 242.

[4] Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Ed. R.A. Lipsius and M. Bonnet (Hildesheim: Georg Olm, 1959), I, 46.

11, 1 says, "... συνιδὼν τῷ πνεύματι...." Paul spoke;[1] Acts of John, 46 states that John spoke "... ἐν τῷ πνεύματι...",[2] and Acts of John, 56 says, "Γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἰωάννης τῷ πνεύματι..."[3]

The impression which one gains from this is that the authors of these works wished to indicate that the apostles were dependent upon the Holy Spirit for their knowledge. This seems to be closely akin to what was thought to happen when one of the charismata Paul mentions in 1 Cor. 12:8, the word of knowledge, was in operation.[4] If this is the case, then these passages from the Apocryphal Acts could be thought of as a reflection of this particular charisma.

A second type of spiritual phenomena appearing in the Apocryphal Acts involves the oral delivery of a

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[1] Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Lipsius and Bonnet, I, 106.

[2] Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Lipsius and Bonnet, II, 173.

[3] Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, Lipsius and Bonnet, II, 178.

[4] See p. 79 above regarding the nature of in 1 Cor. 12:8.

message after contact with the Holy Spirit.[1] In the Acts of Paul there are three instances when someone is "filled with the Spirit" and goes on to deliver a powerful message. In section 9, Paul is filled and exhorts the brethren;[2] in the same passage, Cleobius is filled and speaks of Paul's pending death,[3] and in section 11, 3, Paul is filled and speaks with power before Nero.[4]

There is another passage which presents a variation of the same idea.

> But the Spirit came upon Myrta, so that she said: "Brethren, why <are you alarmed at the sight of this sign?> Paul the servant of the Lord will save many in Rome, and will nourish many with the word, so that there is no number (to count them), and he (?) will become manifest above all the faithful, and greatly will the glory <...come> upon him, so that there will be great grace in Rome." And immediately, when the Spirit that was

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[1] All relevant passages are from the Acts of Paul. Elsewhere in the Apocryphal Acts when speech is said to be "in the Spirit" ('Acts of Peter', 28; II, 312f.) or when someone is "filled with the Spirit" ('Acts of Peter,' 6; II, 286) this is not followed by an account of a strong message.

[2] 'Acts of Paul,' 9; II, 379.

[3] 'Acts of Paul,' 9; II, 379.

[4] 'Acts of Paul,' 11, 3; II, 385. See Mt.10:19.

> in Myrta was at peace, each one took of the bread and feasted according to custom ‹...› amid the singing of psalms of David and of hymns.[1]

Here the author presents Myrta as speaking under the control of the Spirit.[2] Despite the non-Pauline overtones of 'god-possession' which this passage has, it seems as though the author would have this regarded as an instance of Christian prophecy.

An unpublished Coptic Papyrus containing The Beginning of the Stay in Ephesus from the Acts of Paul provides what may be regarded as the third type of spiritual phenomena relevant to this study. There we read,

> The angel of the Lord came into the house of Aquila, and stood before them all. He spoke with Paul, so that all were troubled: for ‹this angel› who stood there was indeed visible (lit. revealed), but the words which he was speaking to Paul they (the bystanders) did not hear. But

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[1] 'Acts of Paul,' 9; II, 379f. C. Schmidt(Πράξεις Παύλου, Acta Pauli, p. 49 n.1) points out that the very top of page 7 of the Hamburg MS. is in very bad condition and that the reconstruction of the text is to a large extent conjectural.

[2] For discussions of the appearance of such concepts as 'god-possession' in early Christianity and contemporary pagan religions see p. 95 n.1, p. 151 n.1, and pp. 214f. above.

> after he had stopped speaking with Paul in tongues, they fell into fear and confusion, and were silent. But Paul looked at the brethren and said:...[1]

The words to be noted are "speaking...in tongues". Here an angel is pictured speaking and Paul seems to interpret what he said. This reference to tongues, and possibly interpretation, parallels the discussion given to these religious phenomena in 1 Cor.12-14.[2] It is also one of the very few non-canonical references to glossolalia in early Christian literature.[3] The fact

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[1] 'The Beginning of the Stay in Ephesus,' Trans. R.McL. Wilson, Hennecke, II, 387f. With reference to this passage Professor Wilson points out that, "The papyrus is in a very poor condition and we can only give extracts. In addition the translation here presented must be considered provisional. The text so far as it is legible, complete and with a more accurate translation, will be supplied in the Editio princeps": p. 387 n.2.

[2] See pp. 76-91 above.

[3] See p. 222-227, and p. 234ff. above and p. 261 , and p. 341f. below. R. Reitzenstein (Poimandres(Stuttgart: B.G. Teubner, 1966(1904)), p. 58) says that glossolalia was not unique to Christianity, but rather that it belonged to Hellenistic ecstasy. He further says that glossolalia was known in the community which produced the Hermetic writings. In Reitzenstein's opinion, the passage which lends itself to this interpretation is Poimandres, 13. However, it appears to me that it is questionable whether the passage cited is open to this interpretation.

that glossolalia is attributed to an angel is a unique feature, but it can perhaps be explained as drawing its inspiration from Paul's statement in 1 Cor.13:1, "If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels,..."

Fourthly, there are several passages in the Apocryphal Acts which portray confrontations between the various apostles and demons: of these we will examine only two. The first incident takes place in the house of Marcellus in Rome. There Peter sees a young man whom he perceives is demon-possessed, and he says, "'You too,then, whatever demon you may be, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, come out of the young man and do him no harm; (and) show yourself to all who stand by!'"[1] Following this, the demon left the young man and destroyed a marble statue of the emperor. The second example of this sort of experience comes from the Acts of Andrew. There Andrew tells a demon to leave a young soldier and it does.[2] What we have here

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[1] 'Acts of Peter,' 4, 11; II, 293.

[2] 'Acts of Andrew,' Trans. E. Best, Hennecke, II 407. Other passages which present similar experiences are: 'Acts of Paul,' 6; II, 369; 'Acts of Thomas,'

are cases of exorcism: the apostles recognize the demonic presence, rebuke the demons, and then expel them.

It must be acknowledged that placing exorcism among the charismata is a questionable procedure, because it is not mentioned in the lists of spiritual gifts arranged by Paul in 1 Cor.12 and Rom.12. However, there are considerations which make doing this acceptable. First, while the Pauline lists do not mention exorcism, the ability to distinguish between spirits is one of the charismata mentioned in 1 Cor.12:10. Secondly, in one of Irenaeus' lists of charismata with which he is familiar, he cites exorcism.[1] This indicates that at least to Irenaeus, exorcism was one of the gifts which are given by the Spirit. It is possible that this idea was shared by some of the authors of the Apocryphal Acts.

> ...some said: " ⟨It is⟩ better for him to die, that he may ⟨not⟩ be in pain." But when Paul had quietened the crowd he ⟨took⟩ his hand, raised him up and asked him, saying: "Hermocrates, ⟨.....⟩ what thou wilt." But he said: "I wish to eat." (And) he took

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42, Trans. R.McL. Wilson, Hennecke, II, 267f., and 'Acts of Thomas,' 68; II, 483f.

[1]Irenaeus, Adv.haer., 2, 49:3. See p. 339 below.

> a loaf and gaye him to eat. He became whole in that hour,...[1]

This passage serves to introduce the fifth type of activity to be seen in the Apocryphal Acts which approximates one of the charismata. The Apostle involved meets someone who is in some way physically impaired; in response to this situation, a cure is provided. This type of experience corresponds very closely to the charisma of healing mentioned in 1 Cor. 12:9. The degree of closeness of the correspondence may be regarded as evidence that the apocryphal writer was familiar with this particular spiritual gift.

The last type of phenomena we shall consider takes us even further into the realm of ministry to physical need. There are eleven instances in the Apocryphal Acts of dead people being restored to

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[1]'Acts of Paul,' 4; II, 365. The following passages record similar events: 'Acts of Peter;' II, 276f. and 9; II, 314; 'Acts of Thomas,' 53 and 54; II, 472f.; 'Acts of John,' 23; II, 218f.; 37; II, 224, and 'Acts of Paul,' II, 1; II, 383f. In the last of these passages it is difficult to determine precisely whether a healing or a raising from the dead is envisaged. On p. 383 the author says Patroclus died, but on p. 384 he says he was '...on the point of death."

life.[1] Involved are men, women, and children of all ages, who have died from a wide variety of causes. Reports of this sort of miracle appear more frequently in the later Acts than in the earlier ones: the Acts of John relate seven instances; the Acts of Thomas, three; the Acts of Peter, two, and the Acts of Paul, one. This is evidence of the increasingly fabulous nature of the Acts which were being written as time passed. Of course, Paul's lists do not contain any reference to the ability to raise the dead as a charisma, but this sort of phenomenon mught be regarded as a result of receiving the gift of performing miracles (1 Cor.12:10). Once again, Irenaeus' inclusion of the raising of the dead among a number of charismata which he lists increases the possibility of this suggestion.[2]

Thus we see that in the Apocryphal Acts there are six types of phenomena which correspond to a greater or

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[1] 'Acts of Peter,' 26 and 27; II, 309; 'Acts of Paul' 8; II, 378; 'Acts of Thomas,' 33; II, 461, 54; II, 473, and 81; II, 486; 'Acts of John,' 24; II, 219, 47; II, 239, 52; II, 240, 75; II, 249, 80; II, 251, and 83; II, 252.

[2] Irenaeus, Adv.haer., 2, 49:3 See p. 339 below.

lesser degree to six charismata. At first sight, it would seem that this is evidence that the authors of the Apocryphal Acts were familiar with the charismata. However, an alternate explanation remains possible: these writers may simply have been using traditional language which had long since ceased to have any real point of reference in the day-to-day experience of their religious communities. This alternate explanation merits serious consideration because the Apocryphal Acts purport to give information about the Apostolic Era. It would be perfectly natural for these authors to weave into their stories ideas and expressions which were characteristic of that period. The charismata were characteristic of the Earliest Christian communities, and consequently, it would not be surprising if the apocryphal writers made them appear in their books.

In view of the fact that evidence of familiarity with the charismata which is to be found in the Apocryphal Acts is open to another explanation, one must regard that information as being uncertain.

(3) Third Century Christianity: Orthodox and Heterodox

Tertullian

The first third century figure to offer implicit evidence attesting to the existence of the charismata is also the first great Latin Father: Tertullian. This man writes with passion and personal involvement, making it an easy matter to gain an impression of his personality, but it is more difficult to piece together an accurate account of his life.

Jerome, the chief source of information, says that Tertullian was the son of a centurion and lived in Carthage.[1] The exact date of his birth is indefinite, but c. 160 appears to be acceptable.[2] Tertullian is

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[1]Jerome, De viris illustribus, 53 (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1924), p. 36.

[2]The date c. 160 can be arrived at as follows: the Apologeticum was written in 197 A.D. (on the basis of Apologeticum, 35, which refers to Severus' execution of Senators after the battle of Lyons: P. Monceaux, Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne (Paris: Earnest Leroux, 1901), I, 198. Within the Apologeticum, Tertullian shows a good knowledge of doctrine and of the lives of the Saints, which implies

said to have had an accurate knowledge of Roman law,[1] a fact which is particularily apparent in De praescriptione haereticorum.[2] 31 of Tertullian's 38 known works, written during the reigns of Severus and Caracalla (193-217 A.D.),[3] remain extant. This famous African Father seems to have died in old age sometime after 220 A.D.[4]

One of the most significant problems regarding Tertullian's life and work is his relationship to Phrygian Montanism. Within this study, the traditional position that Tertullian's work was influenced increasingly by Montanism as the years passed will be accepted. It must be noted, however, that there is

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that his conversion must have been some years before he wrote this book: perhaps between 190 and 195 (Monceaux, I, 182). However, he had reached maturity before he was converted. His writings show that he had spent a considerable amount of time in the intellectual world of his day before he became a Christian. Therefore, c. 160 seems like a reasonable birth-date.

[1]Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, 2, 2:4, Trans. K. Lake (LCL)(London: William Heinemann, 1926), I, 113.

[2]Monceaux, I, 180f.

[3]Jerome, 53; p. 36.

[4]Jerome, 53; p. 37

much which can be said in opposition to this position.[1]

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[1]Some of the facts which form the basis of this position are: Jerome's statement that Tertullian became a Montanist(Jerome, 53: p. 37); Tertullian's attacks upon the Church (Jerome, 24, 40 and 53) which would be understandable if Tertullian was a member of a group which the Church had pronounced heretical, and Tertullian's mentioning the original protagonists of Montanism with approval and agreement (See De ieiunio adversus psychicos, 1, 18; Adversus Praxean, 1; De exhortatione castitatis, 10; De carnis resurrectione, 11 and De anima, 2).

Some of the factors which recommend caution in the handling of the traditional view of Tertullian's relationship with Montanism are as follows: there are many fundamental differences between Asian Montanism and Tertullian's thought (See H.J. Lawlor, 'The Heresy of the Phrygians,' Eusebiana (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), pp. 108-135.) This assertion is also supported by R.G. Smith in 'Tertullian and Montanism,' Theology, 46(1943)127-136); de Labriole (La crise montanist, p. 136) states that Tertullian came to Montanism as a mature, vigorous thinker, and would, therefore, inevitably adapt what he found in the Phrygian movement to suit his own thinking. de Labriolle also says that Tertullian had many of his characteristic ideas before he became a Montanist (eg. his disciplinary economy (p. 333) and his eschatology (p. 331), and A. D'Alès (La théologie de Tertullien (Paris: Beauchesne & Co., 1905), p. 445) says that Tertullian was always virtually a Montanist and that, long before the final rupture, Tertullian was separated in spirit from the Catholic Church. If Tertullian differed from the Phrygian Montanists on many basic points, if he modified Montanist ideas to suit his own previously elaborated system, and if he had many of his rigoristic, what have come to be known as Montanist, ideas throughout his Christian life, then it seems justified to ask in what sense he can be called a Montanist. Is it possible that Tertullian could be better

If Tertullian was influenced by Montanism, it is of importance to know when this influence was first seen in his writings. Monceaux suggests that this happened about 207 A.D.[1] However, there seem to be grounds for dating the first appearance of 'Montanist' ideas in Tertullian somewhat earlier than this. The author of The Passion of S. Perpetua expresses Montanist sentiments in both the introduction and conclusion of his work. The studies of de Labriolle,[2] D'Ales,[3] and Robinson[4] make it strongly probable that Tertullian was the author/editor of this document. Furthermore, it seems best to date The Passion of S. Perpetua between 203 and 205 A.D.[5] If this date and Tertullian's

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understood if seen as the founder of a rigoristic sect which shared some ideas with Phrygian Montanism, or perhaps borrowed some from it, without actually being connected with it?

[1]Monceaux, I, 201.

[2]de Labriolle, pp. 345-351.

[3]A. D'Alès, 'L'auteur de la passio Perpetuae,' RHE 8(1907)5 - 18.

[4]J.A.Robinson, 'The Passion of S. Perpetua,' Texts and Studies, I, 2(1891)47-58.

[5]G. Uhlhorn, Fundamenta Chronologiae Tertullianeae

authorship of the book can be granted, then it can be said that Tertullian had felt the influence of Montanism as early as 203 - 205 A.D.

Having considered Tertullian's life briefly, we now turn to his writings in order to see what evidence he provides for the presence of the charismata among Carthaginian Christians. From his works, there emerge six passages which offer information: the first being found in the five-volume Adversus Marcionem.

In this book, Tertullian mounts the debater's rostrum--a position which he assumes frequently in his writings--and musters all his considerable strength in order to crush an arch-heretic. In 5, 8:12, Tertullian hurls a challenge at Marcion, demanding that he display the gifts which his god has bestowed upon the members of his movement (Exhibeat itaque Marcion dei sui dona[1]). The gifts which

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Gotting, 1854), pp. 8 - 14, and J.R. Harris and S.K. Gifford, The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas (London: C.J. Clay and Sons, 1890), pp. 8 - 13.

[1]Tertullian, Adversus Marcionem, 5, 8:12, Ed. A. Kroymann (CCL, 1)(Turnholt, 1954), p. 688.

Tertullian asks to see are prophecy (prophetae), a psalm (psalmus), a vision (visio), a prayer (oratio), and an interpretation of tongues (linguae interpretatio).[1] Tertullian further stipulates that all these must be spiritual in origin (dumtaxat spiritalem) and performed in ecstasy (in ecstasi, id est in amentia). Having laid this demand at Marcion's feet, Tertullian goes on to say that all the gifts mentioned can be found easily among his own party (si haec omnia facilius a me proferuntur).

This passage, coming out of the heat of controversy, contains the strongest piece of evidence to be found in Tertullian's works for familiarity with the charismata. The list of gifts which Tertullian gives is very similar in nature to those produced by Paul in 1 Cor. 14:26, Eph. 5:18-20, and Col. 3:16. This similarity suggests that the community from which Tertullian wrote corresponded closely to the

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[1]This seems to be the only explicit mention of 'interpretation of tongues' in post-NT Christian literature up to 320 A.D. Evidence of, or references to glossolalia are to be found in Montanism, the Apocryphal Acts, Celsus, and Irenaeus (See p. 250 n. 3 above).

primitive Pauline churches in that it was strongly marked by charismatic phenomena.[1] The picture evoked of Tertullian's party is of a group in which there was much emphasis placed upon the Holy Spirit and in which the spiritual gifts were common.

The accuracy of the image of Tertullian's party which is aroused by Adversus Marcionem, 5, 8:12 is confirmed by two other passages in his works. In De anima, 9,3, we read, "Nam quia spiritalia charismata agnoscimus, post Iohannam quoque prophetiam meruimus consequi."[2] By this statement, Tertullian is attempting to show that his party has a right to prophesy because they recognize the "spiritual gifts" (spiritalia charismata). The list of spiritual

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[1]On the contrary, this similarity between Paul and Tertullian could suggest that Tertullian has simply taken over Paul's language and that the terms may not have any real point of reference in Tertullian's community. However, this suggestion is precluded when one remembers that Tertullian is here engaged in a controversy with the Marcionites. It is very unlikely that Tertullian would boast of the presence of the charismata in such positive terms if, in fact, they were not to be found in his community.

[2]Tertullian, De anima, 9,3, Ed. J.H. Waszink (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff, 1947), P. 11.

gifts given in the passage cited above from Adversus Marcionem corresponds closely to Paul's lists in Rom. 12 and 1 Cor. 12, thus indicating that Tertullian was acquainted with phenomena which Paul called 'charismata'. Therefore, 'spiritalia charismata' in this passage probably should be understood to mean the Pauline charismata, and it must probably be assumed that they were in evidence in Tertullian's community in order for him to be able to make an appeal to them.

The second passage from Tertullian's works which supports the conclusion drawn from Adversus Marcionem that Tertullian's community was familiar with the charismata is De monogamia, 1, 2 - "...quos spiritales merito dici facit agnitio spiritalium charismatum,..."[1] Here Tertullian claims spiritual superiority for his party on the basis of the fact that it recognizes the charismata. Therefore, Tertullian's party was one in which the charismata were recognized as a valid part of Christian experience, and one in

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[1]Tertullian, De monogamia, 1,2, Ed. E. Dekkers (CCL, 2)(Turnholt, 1954), p. 1229.

which the charismata were probably in evidence.

The fourth excerpt from Tertullian's writings which sheds light upon the charismatic experiences of at least some early-third century Carthaginian Christians is taken from the Passio S. Perpetuae:

> itaque et nos qui sicut prophetias ita et visiones novas pariter repromissas et agnoscimus et honoramus, ceterasque virtutes Spiritus Sancti ad instrumentum Ecclesiae deputamus, cui et missus est idem omnia donativa administrans in omnibus prout unicuique distribuit Dominus,...[1]

There are several points arising from this passage to which attention should be drawn. The first of these points is the equating of visiones novas and prophetias. The former expression probably should be regarded as a reference to Montanist prophecy as Tertullian understands it and the latter as referring to OT prophecy. Therefore, Tertullian here places OT and Montanist prophecy on an equal footing. This is clear evidence for the high status which Tertullian awarded to the oracles of Montanus, Priscilla, and Maximilla.

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[1]Tertullian, 'Passio S. Perpetuae,' 1, Ed. J.A. Robinson, Texts and Studies, I, 2(1891)62.

Secondly, the phrase "idem omnia...distribuit Dominus" merits consideration. Here, first the Holy Spirit and then the Lord are pictured bestowing the charismata upon the Church. This idea closely parallels 1 Cor. 12:4 - 6,[1] which suggests that by this phrase Tertullian is referring to the charismata.

The last feature of this passage to be mentioned is Tertullian's separating of prophecy from the other charismata. This implies that he placed greater importance upon prophecy than upon the other gifts.

De praescriptione haereticorum, 29, 3 is the fifth place at which the charismata appear in Tertullian's works; here, however, they are given only a fleeting mention. In this passage, Tertullian is involved in polemic which is directed at heretics. He lists several features of the Church's life which would have to be regarded as having been carried on wrongly, if the system of Marcionism or Valentinianism were accepted as valid. In chapter 29 of this book

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[1]Now there are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit. And there are varieties of ministries, and the same Lord. And there are varieties of effects, but the same God who produces everything in all men.

Tertullian attempts to show that this would be absurd.

As part of his list, Tertullian says, "tot charismata perperam operata."[1] There is a feature of the order of this list which suggests that Tertullian understands 'charismata' to mean the charismata as outlined by Paul in Rom. 12 and 1 Cor. 12. In Tertullian's list, 'charismata' is proceeded by 'virtutes,' which is translated as 'miracles' by de Labriolle.[2] 'Virtutes' and 'charismata' are also modified by the same participle, 'operata'. This implies that if one of the words is to be understood in a sense connoting divine activity (as 'virtutes' is), then the other word should be understood in the same sense. Therefore, it seems that Tertullian gives 'charismata' the same meaning here as Paul gives it in Rom. 12:6 and 1 Cor. 12:4.

The last passage from Tertullian's works which

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[1]Tertullian, De praescriptione haereticorum, 29, 3, Ed. R.E. Refoulé (SCH, 46)(Paris: Cerf, 1957), p. 125.

[2]De praescriptione haereticorum, Trans. P. de Labriolle (SCH, 46), p. 125.

we will consider because it is relevant to a study of the charismata is De baptismo, 20:5 -

> Igitur benedicti quos gratia dei expectat, cum de illo sanctissimo lavacro novi natalis ascenditis et primas manus apud matrem cum fratribus aperitis, petite de patre, petite de domino peculia gratiae distributiones charismatum subiacere.[1]

The phrase to be noted in this passage is distributiones charismatum. Refoulé, commenting on this passage, says that Tertullian uses this expression to designate the charismata Paul enumerates in 1 Cor. 12.[2] The probability of this suggestion is increased when one remembers that in other places in his writings Tertullian reveals that he was familiar with the charismata.[3] In this passage, then, Tertullian encourages newly-baptized members of the Church to ask for the charismata and to expect to experience them. Tertullian seems to regard this as the normal

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[1]Tertullian, De baptismo, 20:5, Ed. R.F. Refoulé-M. Drouzy (Sources chrétiennes, 35)(Paris: Cerf, 1952), p. 96.

[2]R.F. Refoulé, Traité de baptême (SCH 35)(Paris: Cerf, 1952), p. 96 n 6.

[3]See p. 260ff above.

experience of a Christian.

An examination of the above passages from Tertullian's writings enables one to draw conclusions about the place the charismata occupied both in the life and thought of Tertullian himself and in the experience of other Christians at Carthage.

First of all, let us note the dates when several of Tertullian's works which contain references to the charismata were written: De baptismo was an early work,[1] the Passio S. Perpetuae was written/edited a little later in Tertullian's career,[2] and De monogamia was produced towards the end of his working life.[3] The fact that favourable references to the charismata are to be found in writings dating from all parts of his literary career suggest that throughout his life, insofar as it is known to us through his writings, Tertullian was favourably inclined towards the

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[1] 198 - 200 A.D., J. Quasten, Patrology (Utrecht-Antwerp: Spectrum Publishers, 1953), II, p. 280; Monceaux, I, 208 &209.

[2] See p. 259 above.

[3] 217 A.D., Quasten, II, 306; after 213 A.D., Monceaux, I, 208 & 209.

charismata.[1]

This continued interest in the charismata also tells us something about Carthaginian Christians in general. Tertullian states that the newly-baptized should expect to receive charismata in church (De baptismo, 20, 5), and speaks of the gifts as though he was familiar with their operation (De praescriptione haereticorum, 29, 3). Furthermore, he twice appeals directly to his community's acknowledgement of the charismata (De anima, 9, 3) and De monogamia, 1, 2), and once states that the charismata can be found with ease in his party (Adv. Marcionem, 5, 8:12). The really interesting point is that between the time when he wrote the first two works mentioned and the time when he wrote the last three, he is supposed to have changed communities--to have left the Catholic Church to become a Montanist. It is evident that Tertullian's attitude towards the charismata during the latter part of his life was very similar to that which

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[1]While this is so, it must also be acknowledged that Tertullian's later works show an increased interest in the charismata. This is perhaps to be explained as a result of Montanist influence.

characterized his early career. Therefore, if Tertullian did change communities, then it can be argued that both Catholic and Montanist Christians at Carthage were well-acquainted with the charismata during the first quarter of the third century.

Hippolytus

We now have to travel from Carthage to Rome in order to consult Hippolytus about the charismata; he is the next churchman who offers information. Although we must change continents, the man by whom we are confronted is similar in many respects to his contemporary, Tertullian. Both were capable of writing with great passion; both subscribed unswervingly to an intensely rigoristic moral code; and both ran afoul of the 'establishment'. However, the two men occupy very different places in history. Tertullian, through his writings, did much to shape Latin Christianity. Hippolytus, on the other hand, very soon after his death, sank into obscurity in the West.

Hippolytus had already become an enigma by the early fourth century. The best that Eusebius, one of the first historians of the Church, could do was to say that Hippolytus had served as a bishop somewhere and to give a partial list of his extant works.[1] Jerome

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[1]Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, 6, 20, and 22 Trans. J.E.L. Oulton (LCL)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1932), I, 65 and 69.

does no better, saying only that Hippolytus was a bishop, but "nomen quippe urbis scire non potui," and giving a slightly longer list of his books.[1] Biographical information regarding Hippolytus is very scarce.[2] M.R.P. McGuire gives all the essential information when he says Hippolytus was an "Ecclesiastical writer, antipope, and martyr; b.c. A.D. 170, most probably in the East; d. Sardinia, 235 or 236 (feast, Aug. 13)."[3] McGuire also says that Hippolytus went into schism after Callistus' ascension to the papal chair over the latter's Christology and penitential discipline.[4] Some of the details and the temperature of this altercation can be seen in Hippolytus' Philosophumena, 9.

One of the books written by Hippolytus, The

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[1] Jerome, De viris illustribus, 61 (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1924), p. 41.

[2] See M. Richard, 'Hippolyte de Rome (saint)', Dictionnaire de spiritualité Ascetique et Mystique, Ed. A. Reyez & C. Baumgartner (Paris: Beauchesne), VII, col. 533.

[3] M.R.P. McGuire, 'Hippolytus of Rome, St.', NCE New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), VI, 1139.

[4] McGuire, VI, 1140.

Apostolic Tradition, is a very important ecclesiastical document.[1] This work, written about 215 A.D.,[2] reflects

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[1] Hippolytus' connection with the ApTr has been challenged by A. Hamel (Über das kirchenrechtliche Schrifttum Hippolyts,' ZNW 36(1937)248f.), but it is probably still safer to regard the work as having come from Hippolytus' hands. Two scholars who have written about Hippolytus recently, G.G. Blum ('Apostolische Tradition und Sukzession bei Hippolyt,' ZNW 55(1964) 96) and D.L. Holland ('"Credis in spiritum sanctum et in sanctam ecclesiam et resurrectionem carnis?" Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Apostolikums,' ZNW 61(1970)127 have affirmed that Hippolytus produced the ApTr. Of course it must be remembered, as Blum pointed out (p. 97), that Hippolytus was not the original author of the material to be found in the ApTr: his role was to organize information which had come to him.

In private conversation with me, Marcel Richard expressed certain considerations which, in his opinion, make it impossible to regard Hippolytus as the author of the ApTr. He said first that Hippolytus would have been too young to have produced such an important work. He then drew attention to certain literary factors: in Hippolytus' commentaries there is no mention of widows, while there is a large section devoted to them in the ApTr; the doxologies in Hippolytus' commentaries are never trinitarian, but in the ApTr they are. While these considerations seem to be of unequal value, they will certainly merit serious examination when they are documented and published.

[2] G. Dix thinks that the date of the ApTr is to be set at 215 A.D., i.e., in the closing years of Zephyrinus' (Callistus' predecessor) episcopate. His arguments are: (1) Hippolytus charges Zephyrinus with not keeping the traditions (Philosophumena, 9, 11;1) but does not so charge Callistus; (2) ApTr, 9:2f. could be an attack on deacons (of which

Roman practice of that date and probably of the last half, at least, of the previous century. Concluding his examination of the importance of the ApTr, Dix moves in the right direction, but paints with strokes that are too broad when he says,

> But making all due allowance for these cases, there remains a much larger part of the contents, some of it supported by allusions in other writers, of which we can safely say that his material comes to him rather than from him, It represents the mind and practice not of St Hippolytus only but of the whole Catholic Church

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Callistus was one) and an exaltation of presbyters (among whom Hippolytus was numbered); (3) ApTr, 34 hints that the cemetery is not being cared for properly. Because Callistus was archdeacon, it would have been under his care, and (4) there is no reference to the innovations of Callistus which are mentioned in Philosophumena. (G. Dix, The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome (London: S.P.C.K., 1937), p. xxxvf.) These arguments, although they carry accumulative weight, are not finally conclusive. Nos. (2) and (3) are conjectural. Nos. (1) and (4) imply that Callistus made his changes immediately upon taking office and that Hippolytus wrote soon after Callistus' election. Neither of these implications is confirmable. However, since Dix's understanding of the date is shared by J. Quasten ('Egyptian Church Order,' NCE (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), V, 227.), B. Altaner (Patrology, Trans. H.C. Graef (Freiburg: Herder, 1960), p. 55) and McGuire (VI, 1140)it is probably safe to accept it. Privately Richard expressed the opinion that the ApTr was written in the late first or early second century A.D.

of the second century.[1]

It is very doubtful that the ApTr represents the thought and life of the whole of the second century Catholic Church--there was still much diversity[2]--, but conditions in Rome are certainly mirrored in this document. Here the ApTr will be used as a means of access to the ecclesiastical structure and practice of the Roman church during the latter part of the second century and the first part of the third.[3]

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[1] Dix, p. xliv. His arguments are: (1) Hippolytus is making an appeal to the past. Therefore, he must be reflecting the past accurately; (2) Hippolytus was morally incapable of lying; (3) Valentinus' rites reflected the ancient rites of Rome and his resembled Hippolytus', and (4) Hippolytus' work shows a definite contact with Judaism in the sense that Jewish ideas are enshrined in the practices he presents. These arguments show the ApTr's importance for the Roman church, but they do not suffice to prove that the same conditions existed throughout the empire.

[2] For example, the late second century Church was troubled by the dispute over the time of the celebration of Easter (See Eusebius, H.E., 5, 23-25) and by Monarchianism (See Hippolytus, Philosophumena, 9, 2 and 3.).

[3] In spite of the importance of the ApTr for the modern historian, it had only a scattered influence in the early Church. It was of importance in the East, a fact attested to by the oriental versions in which the document has been preserved--Arabic, Sahidic, Bohairic, and Ethiopic. However, in the West,

The church revealed in the ApTr is one which is highly organized. A discussion of the clergy takes up section 2:1 - 15:1. There is a distinct hierarchy including in descending order the bishop, presbyters, deacons, confessors, widows, readers, virgins, sub-deacons, and those with the gift of healing. The method of ordination or appointment which is to be applied at each level is made clear. Section 16:1 - 23:14 is given over to considerations relevant to the acceptance of new members into the church. It treats of the examination of people before they are accepted as catechumens, the length of their instruction after they have been accepted, and their eventual baptism and confirmation. Section 24:1 - 38:1 gives expression to several observances. Such things as the practice of fasting, the procedure of the 'agape',

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it seems as though it and its author soon sank into oblivion. This rapid decline in popularity which Hippolytus' works experienced in the West is at least partly explicable in terms of the latinization of the Roman church which accelerated markedly in the first part of the third century, and which must have made Hippolytus' writings--including the ApTr--inaccessible to many because they were written in Greek. (See Richard, col. 531.)

and the times of prayer are mentioned. The overriding impression with which one is left after a reading of the ApTr is that the church from which it arose was a closely regulated institution. This was the church of Rome of the latter part of the second century. In the hierarchical and liturgical organization of this church, the system of the future Roman Catholic Church can be clearly seen.

Along with this high degree of organization found in the ApTr, there are also hints that the charismata were still present in the Christian community at Rome. That there should be in this book only hints of a charismatic element in the Roman church need not be surprising: Hippolytus may have already written a book entitle 'Concerning Spiritual Gifts'. [1]

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[1]See ApTr, 1:1. Περὶ χαρισμάτων constitutes one line in a list of Hippolytus' works on the base of a statue of him which was discovered in 1551 in the Campo Verano (Richard, col. 532). Richard argues (col. 544) that this and the following two lines--

Περὶ χαρισμάτων
ἀποστολικὴ παράδο
σις

The first of these hints comes in 15:1-- "If anyone among the laity appear to have received a gift of healing by a revelation, hands shall not be laid upon him, because the matter is manifest."[1] Hippolytus says that the charismatically empowered do not need ordination in order to minister.[2] The charismatic nature of the healing power mentioned here is noted by B.S. Easton, who draws attention to the correspondence between this passage and 1 Cor.12: 9 and 28.[3]

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make up the title of only one work: 'The Apostolic Tradition concerning the Spiritual Gifts.' He supports this by saying that the 'Ancients' (les anciens) thought these lines were all one title, but he does not document this. In addition, he says that 'The Apostolic Tradition concerning the Spiritual Gifts' is to be regarded as the natural translation because of the indefiniteness of ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις without περὶ χαρισμάτων. This does not seem to be a conclusive argument in favour of one title rather than two: ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις can stand by itself.

[1]Hippolytus, The Apostolic Tradition, 15:1, Trans. G. Dix (London: S.P.C.K., 1937), p. 22.

[2]However, Dix points out in the Apparatus Criticus that the ἕως φανερόν found in the Canons of Hippolytus and in the Ethiopic version of the ApTr "...implies that the proven charismatic is to be ordained." (p. 22)

[3]B.S. Easton, The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus

The second such hint is found in ApTr, 35:3.

> If a specially gifted teacher should come, let none of you delay to attend the place where the instruction is given, for grace will be given to the speaker to utter things profitable to all, and thou wilt hear new things, and thou wilt be profited by what the Holy Spirit will give thee through the instructor; so thy faith will be strengthened by what thou hearest, and in that place thou wilt learn thy duties at home; therefore let everyone be zealous to go to church, the place where the Spirit abounds.[1]

At first sight, this passage reads like an exhortation to be faithful in church attendance, particularly when an exceptionally good preacher will be there--and that may be all it is. However, this passage has certain features which seem to suggest that more than the usual preaching situation is envisaged here. First, it is said that the speaker will be given a profitable message; the origin of his

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(Cambridge: At the University Press, 1934), p. 85. While Easton is correct in pointing out the similarity between ApTr 15:1 and 1 Cor.12:9 and 28, evidence from Tertullian (p. 260f. above), Origen (pp.365-370 below), Firmilian (pp. 355-358 below), Cyprian (pp. 295-301 below), Novatian (pp. 285-290 below), and Dionysius (p. 308f. below) shows that he is wrong in claiming that the gift of healing was the only one of the primitive charismata to survive unchanged into the third century.

[1]Hippolytus, 35:3; p. 54.

message is outside of himself. This runs parallel to Paul's thinking regarding the charismata as it is found in Rom.12:6 and 1 Cor.12:6. Secondly, all of this takes place in the assembly, ἐκκλησία.[1] This is in accord with Paul's idea of how the charismata should function (1 Cor.12:13)[2]. The third feature to be considered is the expression "Spirit abounds". According to Dix, the Sahidic version strengthens this to "Spirit breaks forth."[3] This reveals a dynamic concept of the Spirit's activity somewhat foreign to normal preaching. Easton makes a leading comment when he says that the teacher here is described in terms which apply to an NT prophet.[4] Perhaps the features of this passage to which attention has been drawn allow one to see in the excerpt evidence of a familiarity with the charismata.

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[1]Appears transliterated in the Sahidic and/or Bohairic version(s) - Dix, p. lxxxii ('Symbols used in the Text').

[2]See p. 89f. above.

[3]Dix, p. 62.

[4]Easton, p. 104.

The ApTr reveals the church in Rome in the late second - early third century as being a highly organized institution. However, two passages, 15:1 and 35:3, suggest that along with the functioning of the ecclesiastical machinery there were occasional manifestations of the charismata.

Novatian

We remain in Rome in order to examine the evidence provided by another mid-third century figure, Novatian. Although he is called a Phrygian by Philostorgius,[1] Novatian is best known for the role which he played in the life of the Church in Rome. By 250 A.D., he is found occupying a prominent position in Roman ecclesiastical circles, a fact that is attested by Cyprian of Carthage, who says that Novatian wrote to him in the name of the Roman clergy during the time when the church of Rome was without a bishop.[2] In fact, two letters in the Cyprianic corpus (nos. 30 and 36) are now attributed to Novatian.[3]

Novatian's position at Rome changed dramatically shortly after Cornelius had been elected to fill the bishop's chair. According to Cyprian, who was in a position to know the details accurately, Cornelius'

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[1] Philostorgius, The Ecclesiastical History as Epitomized by Photius, 8, 15, Trans. E. Walford (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855), p. 491.

[2] Cyprian, Epistula 55, 5, Ed. W. Hartel (CSEL, III, 2 (Vindobon: C. Geroldi, 1871), p. 627.

[3] H. Koch, 'Zu Novatians Ep. 30,' ZNW 34(1935) 303 - 306, and J. Quasten, Patrology (Utrecht and Antwerp: Spectrum Publishers, 1953), II, 213.

election had been proper in every way.[1] However, Novatian soon appeared leading a party which rivalled the majority of the Roman church and which had assumed a hard line regarding the 'lapsed'. His party would not allow the 'lapsed' back into communion under any circumstances.[2] This was a surprising development in view of the letters which Novatian had written to Cyprian. In these letters, Novatian had agreed with Cyprian that the 'lapsed' should be treated with moderation.[3] He had now deserted that position in favour of an extremely rigoristic one.

There is also other evidence which indicates that Novatian's status in the church at Rome underwent a change. Both Cyprian and Cornelius (the latter in more impassioned and bitter terms than the former)

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[1] Cyprian, Epistula 55, 8; p. 629f.

[2] Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, 6, 43, Trans. J.E.L. Oulton (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1932), II 113, and Jerome De viris illustribus, 70, Ed. W. Herding (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1924), p. 46.

[3] Novatian, Epistula Cypriani, 30, Ed. G. Hartel (CSEL, III, 2)(Vindobon: C. Geroldi, 1871), p. 549 - 556.

speak of Novatian's having engineered an episcopal election for himself which in reality was a sham and carried no validity.[1] This, coupled with the hardening of Novatian's position with regard to the 'lapsed', shows that Novatian had separated himself from the life and thought of the majority of members of the Roman church.

Whatever were the causes behind this split from the Roman church, little is known of Novatian's personal life after he, his followers, and his ideas had been condemned by councils at Rome and elsewhere.[2] However, it is certain that Novatian's ideas gained a wide following. Cornelius' letter to Fabius of Antioch[3] and Cyprian's to Antonianus[4] show that Novatianism was being granted a hearing and that it did possess powers of attraction.

There is one passage in Novatian's De trinitate,

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[1]Cyprian, Epistula, 55, 24; p. 642, and Eusebius 6, 43:7 - 10;II, 117 and 119.

[2]Eusebius, 6, 43:2; II, 113 and 115.

[3]Eusebius, 6, 43:5; II, 115.

[4]Cyprian, Epistula 55, 1; p. 624.

the first great Latin contribution to theology to appear in Rome,[1] which is relevant to a study of the charismata. It is to be remembered as significant that this book was written while Novatian was still intimately connected with the Roman church,[2] and therefore, that it reflects not the thinking of a schismatic, but the opinions of the church of Rome at large as expressed by one of its most respected and prominent members. The passage is drawn from the relatively short treatment Novatian gives to the Holy Spirit.

In chapter 29, he says,

> For it is he who places prophets in the church, who instructs teachers, who directs the tongues (linguas), who perform miracles (virtutes) and healings (sanitates), who displays extraordinary works, who grants discerning of spirits (discretiones spirituum), who brings together various people's ability to lead (gubernationes contribuit), who provides advice, who disposes and arranges each of the other charismatic gifts (alia sunt charismatum); and by doing this he makes the church, everywhere and among all peoples, perfect and complete.[3]

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[1] Quasten, II, 214.

[2] W.Y. Fausset, Novatian's Treatise on the Trinity (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1909), p. xxvi.

[3] Novatian, De trinitate, 29; p. 107f. This and the following passages are translated by the present writer.

The first thing to be noted about this passage is that Novatian has a specific category of phenomena in mind. This is seen in the phrase "alia"...charismatum dona". The use of dona in addition to charismatum is redundant - the basic meaning of charisma is 'gift' -, but here the construction serves to make Novatian's thought quite lucid: he is talking about gifts which are to be numbered among the charismata. Therefore, one must assume that Novatian's experience had taught him to subsume the phenomena he lists under this heading. It is entirely credible that the boundaries of this category had been set for Novatian by the Apostle Paul. Paul's influence could have been felt directly through Novatian's reading of Paul's letters to the Romans and the Corinthians, indirectly through the practice and tradition of the Roman church which had been influenced by Paul, or in both ways. At any rate, Novatian draws upon a term used by Paul in order to designate certain phenomena as unique.

The possibility that it had been Paul who - directly and /or indirectly - had taught Novatian what the charismata were is suggested also by the

list of charismata which Novatian gives: it shows a marked affinity with the lists Paul presents in Rom. 12 and 1 Cor. 12. In order to highlight this affinity, the charismata presented by Novatian will be listed and the Pauline charisma most closely paralleled by each will be placed opposite them.

prophecy	prophecy (Rom. 12:6; 1 Cor. 12:10)
teaching	teaching (Rom. 12:7)
glossolalia	glossolalia (1 Cor. 12:10)
miracles (*virtutes* and *opera mirabilia*)	miracles (1 Cor. 12:10)
discerning of spirits	distinguishing of spirits (1 Cor.12:10)
governing	managing (Rom. 12:8)
healing	healing (1 Cor. 12:9)
advice	word of wisdom and word of knowledge (1 Cor. 12:8)

Of what historical value is the passage quoted above? On one hand, the similarities between the lists given by Paul and Novatian could suggest that Novatian is only employing a piece of traditional material for rhetorical purposes. On the other hand, the possibility remains that he is shedding light on

conditions which actually existed in the Roman church in the middle of the third century. In order to deal with this problem, one must keep the passage quoted firmly in context.

In chapter 29, Novatian is talking about the Holy Spirit. The first part of the chapter is given over to a résumé of prophecies regarding the coming of the Holy Spirit taken from both the OT and the NT. In the latter section of the chapter, Novatian discusses ways in which the Holy Spirit has been active in the Church since his advent, and it is obvious that Novatian thought that the Holy Spirit was still at work. He draws attention to baptism. It is certain that people were being baptized at the time when Novatian lived: baptisms were events which he had observed and in which he had no doubt participated as a clergyman. Regarding baptism, Novatian says,

> This is he who by water (ex aquis) brings about the second birth. He is a kind of seed of divine birth and a consecrator of the heavenly birth, a pledge (pignus) of the promised inheritance, and as it were, a kind of bond (chirographum) of eternal salvation.[1]

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[1]Novatian, De trinitate, 29; p. 109.

Novatian was convinced that the Holy Spirit was an unseen participant in the visible and familiar ceremony of baptism.

Novatian also mentions something else which he had observed in the Church. He had noted that the moral lives of members of the Church were free from certain vices which were evident in society. This fact he attributed to the operation of the Holy Spirit -

> This is he who restrains unsatiable passionate longings, who subdues immoderate lusts, who puts out illicit ardours, who conquers blazing impulses, who throws off drunkenness, who spurns avarice, who puts dissolute revellings to flight,...[1]

Furthermore, Novatian saw the beginnings of what was to be a widely-accepted form of Christian belief and practice. This system which was to reach fruitition in the Roman Catholic Church was arising at the expense of divergent forms of Christianity. Sects such as Marcionism, Valentinianism, and Montanism were being isolated as the majority of Christians in the Roman empire were moving towards greater uniformity

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[1]Novatian, De trinitate, 29; p. 110.

in conduct and in doctrine. In this trend towards uniformity, Novatian saw the Holy Spirit at work, and he said,

> This is he...who banishes the sects, who puts the the rule of truth in order, who refutes heretics, who casts out the perverse, who protects the gospel.[1]
>
> This is he who in other men keeps the laws of the Lord's teaching incorrupt and uncontaminated, who destroys heretics.[2]

We see then that Novatian draws attention to three particular features--baptism, sanctification, and a trend towards ecclesiastical uniformity--which were to be found in the Roman church of his time. He states that the Holy Spirit was actively involved in all of these. In the passage in which he refers to the charismata,[3] he asserts that the Holy Spirit is active in these spiritual phenomena also. That this activity is real and is taking place in the present is just as strongly asserted with reference to the charismata as with reference to baptism, or the other features

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[1]Novatian, De trinitate, 29; p. 110.

[2]Novatian, De trinitate, 29; p. 111.

[3]See p. 285 above.

mentioned above. Therefore, it seems correct to assume that the charismata were as much a part of the ecclesiastical scene which rolled before Novatian's eyes as were sanctified lives or steps towards uniformity in Church matters. From this we conclude that the church in Rome of c. 250 A.D. was familiar with manifestations of the charismata.

Cyprian

Our attention is now drawn back across the Mediterranean Sea to another Carthaginian: Cyprian. During a period of agonizing upheaval, this man, the second great representative of Latin Christianity, was thrust into the forefront of the Church's life. The first event of his life which can be dated with accuracy is his elevation to the episcopal chair of Carthage: it occurred in 249 A.D.[1] Arguing backwards from this date, on Pontius' statement that Cyprian was still a neophyte when he was made a priest and then a bishop,[2] it can be assumed that he had been converted not earlier than 245 or 246 A.D. At the time of his conversion, Cyprian seems to have been well-established in society. Jerome's statement that Cyprian had been a teacher of rhetoric prior to his becoming a Christian[3] shows him playing an important

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[1]P. Monceau, Histoire littéraire de l'afrique chrétienne (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901), II, 208.

[2]Pontius, The Life and Passion of Cyprian, Bishop and Martyr, 5, Trans. E. Wallis (ANF, 5)(Buffalo and New York, 1887), 269.

[3]Jerome, De viris illustribus, 67, Ed. G. Herding

role in his community, influencing its thought and its way of life. As well as being an educator, Cyprian was a member of the Carthaginian landed class. This is seen both in Pontius' Life of Cyprian, where Cyprian is said to have given money, including money realized by the sale of estates, to the poor after he had become a Christian,[1] and in Epistle 7, where he instructs the clergy of Carthage to care for poor strangers out of his own money.[2] For Cyprian to have reached this position in society prior to his conversion, he must have been born between 200 and 210 A.D.[3] He was martyred in 258 A.D., during the Valerian

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(Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1924), p. 44. See also G.W. Clarke, 'The Secular Profession of St. Cyprian,' Latomus 24(1965)633-638.

[1] Pontius, 2; p. 268.

[2] Cyprian, Epistulae 7, 1, Ed. G. Hartel (CSEL, III, 2)(Vindobon:C. Geroldi, 1871), p. 485.

[3] M.F. Wiles, 'The Theological Legacy of St. Cyprian,' JEH 14(1963)139 - ;49. See also G.S.M. Walker, The Churchmanship of St. Cyprian (Ecumenical Studies in History, 9) (London: Lutterworth Press, 1968), p. 8.

persecution.[1]

Cyprian is best known for his concepts of the Church and of the Episcopacy, and his ideas on these subjects have been influential right up to the present. They are being carefully examined by modern scholars who are involved in discussions on ecumenicism[2] These are not ideas which were hatched after long incubation. Quite to the contrary, they took shape during a time of seething controversy. Cyprian found himself forced to think out a position regarding the thorny problems of the 'lapsed' and heretical baptism. In doing so, he advanced many ideas which played essential roles in the development of Catholic theory regarding the Church and the Episcopacy.

Having noted that Cyprian made his most lasting contributions in ecclesiastical theory, it is somewhat surprising to find hints in his writings which suggest that prophecy was still fairly well-known in North

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[1]Jerome, 67; p. 45.

[2]See G.S.M. Walker, and E.W. Fashole-Luke, 'Christian Unity: St. Cyprian's and Ours,' ScotJTh. 23, no. 3(1970) 312-322.

Africa. We shall proceed by considering the evidence of prophetic experiences which is to be found in Cyprian's writings and then by examining the nature of prophecy as Cyprian and his contemporaries in North Africa knew it.

In handling evidence of prophetic activity in North Africa in the mid-third century, we begin with material relating to Cyprian himself. It is quite evident that the great Carthaginian bishop was "also among the prophets". Monceau draws attention to Cyprian's "mysticisme",[1] and von Campenhausen mentions his references to heavenly signs and illumination,[2] as does Walker,[3] but it is A. von Harnack who in a conclusive manner marshals the evidence which supports the claim that Cyprian was very much involved in the pneumatic elements of Christianity.[4] These four modern scholars

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[1] Monceau, II, 238.

[2] H. von Campenhausen, The Fathers of the Latin Church, Trans. M. Hoffmann (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1964), p. 46.

[3] Walker, p. 10.

[4] A. von Harnack, 'Cyprian als Enthusiast,' ZNW 3(1902)177-191.

have discovered that at the same time as holding concrete ideas about the structure of the Church, Cyprian believed in and valued the moving of the Spirit.

This was how his contemporaries understood him as well, as is shown by a letter to Cyprian from several Christians who were suffering under the Valerian persecution. In this letter, they say,

> For by your words you have both provided (exornasti) those things about which we have been taught the least (quae minus in nobis instructa erant) and strengthened (confirmasti) us to bear up under (ad sustentationem) the sufferings which we are experiencing, being certain of the heavenly reward, the martyrs' crown, and the kingdom of God as a result of the prophecy (ad prophetiam) which you, being full of the Holy Spirit (spiritu sancto plenus) pledged (sopondisti) to us in your letter.[1]

These words indicate that the Christians who wrote them looked upon Cyprian's letter as prophecy. They, too, recognized the charismatic element in Cyprian.

It would seem that Cyprian has a similar self-image. Harnack argues that by saying permittente domino et inspirante at the end of his letters, Cyprian was

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[1] Epistulae Cypriani, 78, 2; p. 837. This and the other passages from Cyprian's writings which will be used are translated by the present writer.

claiming that his words were authorized by Christ.[1] He did not think that his words should be regarded simply as expressing the opinion of a man, but rather he wanted them to be accepted as having been prompted by Christ, thinking that they would thus be granted the ready hearing he thought they deserved.[2]

A passage from one of Cyprian's letters serves to illustrate his practice of referring to special spiritual experiences he had had in order to lend weight to his words in a particular situation. In Epistulae 66, Cyprian is defending himself from the attack of a certain Florentius Pupianus. Apparently Florentius had been questioning Cyprian's place in the Catholic Church. In response to this, Cyprian--in a style which at times is bitingly sarcastic--presents several factors which support his contention that he is a worthy member of the Episcopate of the Catholic Church. He warns Florentius to repent and to attempt to re-establish communion with him, and through him, with the Catholic

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[1]Harnack, 'Cyprian als Enthusiast,' p. 188.

[2]An earlier bishop-prophet, Ignatius, thought along the same lines. See p. 155ff. above.

Church. Then, as if to add further impact to his words, Cyprian says,

> In fact I remember what has already been shown (sit ostensum) to me, indeed what has been taught (sit praeceptum) to an obedient and fearing servant by the authority of the Lord God (de dominica et divina auctoritate), who thought it worthwhile to show and to reveal (ostendere et revelare) these among other things and who adds this, "Therefore he who does not believe Christ who makes the priest (sacerdotem), shall later begin to believe him who avenges the priest (sacerdotem)." And yet, I know that to some men dreams are seen to be ridiculous and visions silly, but certainly more so to those who choose to think badly of the priests (illis qui malunt contra sacerdotes credere) than to those who are favourable to them (credere...sacerdoti).[1]

Here Cyprian calls upon a message which he claims was given to him by God through a special revelation in order to buttress his argument.

The last sentence of this passage throws even more light upon Cyprian's position with regard to spiritual experiences. The clear implication is that Cyprian was not living in an age of blind credulity: there were sceptics, even among Christians, when it came to matters of dreams and visions. However, while some doubted

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[1]Cyprian, Epistulae 66, 10; p. 734.

the worth of these experiences, Cyprian regarded them as valid means by which men might learn of God's will.

The next piece of material from Cyprian's writings which throws light upon the charismatic experiences of North African Christians comes from his treatise De mortalitate. The occasion of this treatise was the onslaught of a plague which brought the people of Carthage into daily contact with death. This situation threw some Christians into confusion, and Cyprian wrote, trying to provide a Christian interpretation for the events. At one point, he states that it is not appropriate for a Christian to struggle, to complain, and to seek to escape when he is confronted by death. In supporting his statement, Cyprian calls upon the experience of another African bishop (de collegis et consacerdotibus nostris).

This man was at the point of death and was praying that his life might be prolonged when,

> There stood by...a young man, venerable in grace and dignity, lofty in stature, and brilliant in appearance and upon whom, as he stood by human sight was scarcely able to gaze with its fleshly eyes (oculis carnalibus),...[1]

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[1]Cyprian, De mortalitate, 19, Ed. G. Hartel (CSEL,

The ethereal youth then spoke to the bishop and expressed disapproval with his hesitation to die. Cyprian then goes on,

> Our dying brother and colleague heard what he might say to others. For he heard it while he was dying, he heard it so that he might tell it: he heard it not for himself, but for us.[1]

This experience, as Cyprian's comment upon it shows, was regarded as an instance when a man was given a message from God which he was to convey to others, i.e., as an instance of prophecy.

The passion, heat, and confusion of a period of intense persecution early in Cyprian's episcopate are the circumstances out of which further evidence of prophetic activity in North Africa arises. Upon the outbreak of the Decian persecution, Cyprian went into hiding.[2] Being thus removed, although he maintained correspondence with the clergy of Carthage, he began to

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III, 2)(Vindobon: C. Geroldi, 1868), p. 309.

[1]Cyprian, De mortalitate, 19; p. 309.

[2]H. Lietzmann, The Founding of the Church Universal, (A History of the Early Church, Trans. B.L. Woolf, 2) (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), p. 226.

lose control of his church. He learned that some of the elders had started to re-admit to the church people who had offered sacrifices in order to avoid persecution. This was in disobedience to Cyprian's clearly-expressed wishes. In a letter, Cyprian says that the conduct of these elders is wrong, and then, before he orders that this practice be stopped, he says,

> Because of this the divine judgment does not stop restraining (castigare) us night or day. In addition to visions in the night (nocturnas visiones), during the day also among us the innocent age of childhood is filled with the Holy Spirit (impletur ...spiritu sancto puerorum innocens aetas). It sees with its eyes in ecstasy (in ecstasi), it hears, and it speaks those things of which the Lord thinks it is worthwhile to warn and to instruct us (nos Dominus monere et instruere dignatur).[1]

Here Cyprian refers to prophetic messages which he was hearing while in hiding and which were germane to the subject he was discussing. The agents of these messages appear to have been children.

We are now in a position to offer an opinion regarding the place of prophecy in the North African Church of the mid-third century. We have seen that Cyprian himself claimed to have had what may be called cha-

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[1]Cyprian, Epistulae, 16, 4; p. 520.

rismatic experiences and that he was regarded by some of his contemporaries as a prophet; that another African bishop was the recipient of a prophetic message, and that an indefinite number of children were involved in charismatic activity at Cyprian's place of exile during the Decian persecution. From these facts we may conclude that prophecy was a significant part of Cyprian's community and that it was known in other parts of the African Church as well.

The nature of prophecy as it is seen in Cyprian's writings deserves some attention. One of the conclusions to which Harnack was led as a result of his study of Cyprian's 'enthusiasm' was that Cyprian was a prophet. The way in which he expresses this conclusion highlights the 'process of prophecy' as it is seen in Cyprian's Writings:

> Wer auf Grund der ihm gewordenen Offenbarungen spricht, spricht als Prophet und bringt eine prophetia; auch ganze Bücher können und dürfen jetzt noch als von Gott inspiriert angesehen werden.[1]

There are two distinct phases in prophetic ministry in

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[1]Harnack, 'Cyprian als Enthusiast,' p. 191

North Africa in the mid-third century. First, under the control of God, the prophet receives a revelation, part of which is remembered.[1] Secondly, after a time lag of indefinite duration, at an opportune moment, the part of the revelation which is remembered is made public. When the message is publicized, the prophet is not under the control of God: he articulates it naturally. This pattern is to be seen in three passages which have been cited: Epistulae 66,10; De mortalitate 19, and Epistulae 16, 4, and in several passages which were not cited: Epistulae 11, sections 3, 4, 5, and 6, and De mortalitate 20. In all of these passages, someone is spoken of as having received a message from God and as having made it public later.

When the prophetic experience of the North African Church of Cyprian's time is placed alongside the records of Christian pneumatic activity dating from the first two and one half centuries of our era, we see that the phenomena which were known there were not entirely unique. The prophetic ministry which is revealed in

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[1]Harnack, 'Cyprian als Enthusiast,' p. 191.

Cyprian's writings differs from that envisaged by Paul in 1 Cor.12-14 in that Paul seems to say that the prophet delivers his message while being moved upon by the Spirit and in that visions are not mentioned here in connection with the charismata. However, there are other NT passages which suggest something very similar to the charismatic experiences which Cyprian and his contemporaries had. Acts 16:9 and 10 contain the account of the famous 'Macedonian call' which came to Paul in a vision. Further, in Acts 10:9-16 we are told of a vision which Peter received and which prepared him for what he would encounter in the home of Cornelius. Peter later justified his actions by making reference to this vision (Acts 11:1-18). From this we see that it is possible to fit what Cyprian and those of his time in North Africa experienced into the diversified pattern of charismatic activity that is revealed in the NT.

The works of the first famous Carthaginian Christian, Tertullian, contain the record of a phenomenon which bears marked similarity to the process of prophecy which is seen in Cyprian's writings. In De anima, 9, 3,

Tertullian describes what he thinks is an instance of prophecy. In this passage, it is said that a 'sister' had a vision during a service, but remained silent until after the service had ended and only then went to the officials of the church and reported what she had seen. As has been pointed out, these same characteristics--the vision, and the time lag between the reception of the vision and the relating of the message--are found in all of the passages from Cyprian's writings which touch upon the subject. Therefore, it may be said that a type of spiritual experience which was known in Tertullian's time continued in North Africa into the third quarter of the third century.[1]

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[1] The similarity between the instance of prophecy recorded by Tertullian and prophecy as it was known by Cyprian and his contemporaries is very interesting. Tertullian is supposed to have deserted the Catholic Church in favour of Montanism while Cyprian was a Catholic in good standing. This similarity in prophetic experience implies that there had been no 'backlash' against Montanism in North Africa as there appears to have been in Asia Minor (See p. 210 ff. above.). If there had been, it is unlikely that Cyprian would have been involved in a type of prophecy which earlier been a feature of a Montanist community.

Dionysius of Alexandria

In order to examine the latest piece of third century evidence of charismatic activity, one must turn to Alexandria, the most important city in the eastern part of the Roman empire, and to Dionysius, who was a bishop of that city. Dionysius is one of the most affable figures in Early Church History. He was a man of considerable learning, having been a pupil of the famous Origen (Jerome says the "most distinguished" one[1]), and having previously studied rhetoric.[2] On good grounds, P.S. Miller asserts that Dionysius,"was a partaker in the community of ideas that represented the cultivated classes in Alexandria in his day."[3]

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[1]Jerome, Lives of Illustrious Men, 81, Trans. E.C. Richardson (NPNF, series 2, 3)(Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, n.d. (1893)), p. 376.

[2]P.S. Miller (Studies in Dionysius the Great of Alexandria (Erlangen: Junge & Sohn, 1933), pp. 2-12) demonstrates the rhetorical quality of Dionsyius' style. See also J. Lebreton who expresses an opinion which is in agreement with Miller's (De la fin du 2e siecle à la paix Constantinienne, (Histoire de l'église, 2)(Paris: Bloud and Gay, 1948), p. 319).

[3]Miller, p. 48.

In 231-232 A.D., while a presbyter in the Alexandrian church,[1] he succeeded Heraclas as head of the catechetical school.[2] Dionysius then ascended to the bishop's chair at Alexandria in 247 A.D., after Heraclas' death.[3] He died in 264-5 A.D.[4]

Dionysius' 17 years on the episcopal chair of Alexandria were very difficult ones. He and his church were beset by doctrinal controversy, persecution,[5] civil disorder and plague.[6] In the midst of these very testing circumstances, Dionysius showed himself to be both

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[1] Jerome, 81; p. 376.

[2] See Eusebius, H.E., 6, 29:4, Trans. J.E.L. Oulton (LCL)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1964 (1932)), II, 83. Heraclas died in the third year of Philip the Arab's reign, i.e., 247 A.D. and at that time he had been the bishop of Alexandria for 16 years. This means that he had become bishop and vacated the headship of the catechetical school in 231 A.D.

[3] Eusebius, H.E., 7, 28:3; II, 211.

[4] Ibid.

[5] See Eusebius, H.E., 6, 40:1-4; II, 95f. and H.E., 8, 11:5; II, 157.

[6] See Eusebius, H.E., 7, 21:3; II 179 and H.E. 7, 22:1-10; II, 183ff.

zealous in the cause of 'orthodoxy'[1] and reasonable and impartial in his approach to doctrinal matters[2]--a rather rare combination in any period of history.

This influential and devoted servant of the Church, in addition to his scholarly and administrative ability, had a characteristic which we have seen in the lives of two other monarchical bishops, Ignatius[3] and Cyprian:[4] he seems to have had personal experience of the charismata. Of Dionysius, J. Burel says, "Âme mystique, il obéit souvent à l'appel divin, pour prendre position dans la querelle baptismale, comme pour fuir la persécution de Dèce."[5]

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[1]See Eusebius, H.E., 7, 2:1; II, 193; 7, 5:3; II, 141; 7, 7:1; II, 143; 7, 7:6; II, 145 and 7, 24:1; II, 191.

[2]See Eusebius, H.E., 7, 2:1; II, 139; 7, 5:3; II, 193 and 7, 24:6; II, 195.

[3]See pp. 148ff. above.

[4]See pp. 295-302 above.

[5]J. Burel, Denys d'Alexandrie: sa vie, son temps, ses oeuvres (Paris: Bloud and Co., 1910), p. 124. Here 'Mystique' is taken to mean having the desire and the ability to have spiritual experiences with God. Burel does not seem to be suggesting that Dionysius was a mystic in the sense that he was trying to achieve a union with God by following some prescribed series of steps.

Burel's comment refers to two important moments in Dionysius' life, both of which are preserved by Eusebius. First in Eusebius' H.E., 6, 40:3, we find Dionysius defending his conduct during the early stages of the Decian persecution. While explaining why he left Alexandria, he says, "..., God ordered (κελεύσαντος ...τοῦ Θεοῦ) me to leave..."[1] The second is related in H.E., 7, 7:3. Here Dionysius is in the middle of the baptismal controversy and he is thinking of reading the relevant works of certain heretics. He decided to take this course of action and a factor in his decision was that "A God-sent vision (ὅραμα Θεόπεμπτον) came to me and strengthened me and a word which came to me commanded me,..." to go ahead and read the books.

Thus we see that at two crucial points in his career Dionysius claims to have been given direction from God in a most striking fashion. In essence, he is claiming to have had personal experience of the charismata. This would indicate that the charismata,

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[1]Both this and the following quotation are from Schwartz' text of Eusebius' H.E. translated by the present writer.

or at least certain forms of them, were known in the church at Alexandria in the sixth decade of the third century.

Explicit Evidence

We have now reviewed some of the evidence which supports the contention that the charismata were an important feature of the Early Church well into the third century. In each case the evidence has had to be inferred from the text. The texts had to be subjected to careful examination before the acceptability and value of the evidence which they seemed to contain could be determined. In each case the question which had to be asked was: how much similarity do the expressions or accounts of behaviour which are related have to the NT charismata?

The body of evidence to which attention will now be given is of a different nature. In the material which follows, evidence for the presence of the charismata takes the form of direct reports. Obviously, this sort of evidence has to be handled differently from the evidence which has been dealt with up to this point: the problem will be to ascertain the degree of historical reliability of each of the reports. The procedure, then, will be to present the material and then attempt to evaluate it.

(1) Second Century Christianity

Justin Martyr

The first direct reports of the presence of the charismata are to be found in the works of "Justin, philosopher and Martyr,"[1] the second century apologist. Justin is a patristic personality whose life and work command attention. He was born in Flavia Neapolis[2] and as a youth sampled three schools of philosophy[3] before settling into Middle Platonism.[4] Through the influence of an old man, he came to see Christianity as the only safe and profitable philosophy, and committed his life to following it.[5] His writings

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[1]Tertullian, Adversus Valentinianos, 5, Trans. Dr. Roberts (ANF, 3)(Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, (1887)), p. 506

[2]Justin Martyr, Apologia maior ad Antoninum Pium, (Iustini, Philosophi et Martyris: Opera, Ed. C.T. Otto, I, 1)(Ienae: Hermann Duff, 1876^3), p. 6.

[3]Justin, Dialogus cum Tryphone, (Iustini, Philosophi et Martyris: Opera, Ed. C.T. Otto, I, 2), p. 8.

[4]See L.W. Barnard, 'Justin Martyr in Recent Study,' ScotJTh 22(1969)156.

[5]Justin, Dialogus, p. 8.

show that even after he had become a Christian, Justin retained a special regard for the philosophy of the Greek world.[1] He served as a teacher of the Christian philosophy, primarily in Rome,[2] but never held an official position in the Church. He lives in history as an apologist who represented Christianity in an apologia to Emperor Antoninus Pius, his sons, the Roman senate,[3] and in discussion with Trypho, the Jew. He suffered martyrdom between 162 and 168 A.D., during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.[4]

Justin's theology, as revealed in his writings, is still in a relatively fluid and undefined state,[5]

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[1] Justin, Apologia I, p. 44, 46, and 59.

[2] The Martyrdom of the Holy Martyrs, 2, Trans. M. Dods, (ANF, 1)(Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans,(1887)), p.305

[3] Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, 4, 11:1, Trans. K. Lake (London: William Heinemann, 1926), I, 333.

[4] From The Martyrdom of the Holy Martyrs, 1, it is learned that Justin and some associates were tried by the Prefect of Rome, Iurius Rusticus. Iurius Rusticus held this position from 162 to 168 A.D. (G. Vitucci, Ricerche Sulla Praefecta Urbi in Età Imperiale (Rome: L'Erma of Bretschneider, 1961), p. 118). Therefore, Justin's martyrdom can be placed between 162 and 168 A.D.

[5] L.W. Barnard, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1967), p. 149.

and this is nowhere more true than in his pneumatology. He has a clear awareness of the existence of three members of the Godhead, but he has difficulty sorting out precisely the role played by each. Barnard is quite correct in saying,

> Justin had no real doctrine of the Trinity. He worshipped the Father as supreme in the Universe; he worshipped the Son as divine but in the second place; he worshipped the Holy Spirit in the third place. This is the language of Christian experience rather than theological reflection. The Holy Spirit was, for Justin, the inspirer of the prophets, the guide of spiritual endeavour, the source of the spiritual gifts found in the Church.[1]

Justin's theology is similar in nature to that subscribed to by other churchmen of his period in that it lacks precision.

However, Justin is unique among the early Fathers in his treatment of the charismata. He is the first writer outside of the NT to give what can be regarded as teaching about the spiritual gifts which had characterized the Early Church from its beginning.

Our examination of Justin's treatment of the charismata begins with Dialogue with Trypho, 39. The

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[1]Barnard, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought, p. 105.

idea of sections 1-13 of this chapter is that the Jews' hatred of Christians stems in part from the fact that some Jews had been converted to Christianity. These then received gifts and, thus enabled, effectively bore witness to their faith to fellow Jews.

This passage clearly says that some Jewish Christians had received certain gifts (δόματα [1]), and a list of these gifts is provided. The list certainly differs from those given by Paul in Rom.12:6-8 and 1 Cor.12:8-11, but there are also similarities to be noted. The similarities are: ἴασις - Dialogue with Trypho, 39:7 and ἴαμα - 1 Cor.12:9, and διδασκαλία - Dialogue with Trypho, 39:7 and Rom.12:7. It is also possible to see similar concepts mentioned in the lists, but in different terms. Examples of this are: σύνεσις in Dialogue with Trypho, 39:7 and λόγος σοφίας in 1 Cor.12:8, and πρόγνωσις in Dialogue with Trypho, 39:7 and λόγος γνώσεως in 1 Cor.12:8.

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[1] Justin seems to use both δόμα and χάρισμα to mean 'spiritual gifts' - δόμα, Dialogue with Trypho, 39:5, 39:8&9, 87:9, 87:12: χάρισμα, Dialogue with Trypho, 82:1 and 88:1.

The similarities existing between these lists are sufficient to warrant the assumption that Justin is here using δόμα in the same sense as Paul used χάρισμα in Rom.12 and 1 Cor.12. Paul and Justin seem to have expressed similar concepts in different terms. The dissimilarity of the lists reveals that at Justin's time pneumatological definitions were still very fliud.

Dialogue with Trypho, 82 is the second passage from Justin's writings which we shall examine because of what it has to say about the charismata. In ch. 81, Justin had drawn support from Isaiah and from the Apocalypse for certain eschatological ideas he was arguing for. In the course of doing so, he claimed that the Apostle John had prophesied (81:16). In 82:1, in order to anticipate any queries Trypho may have had about John's prophesying, Justin states that the prophetic gifts (χαρίσματα) are still to be found among Christians. This appears to be clear attestation to the presence of spiritual gifts in Christian communities with which Justin was familiar.

Chapters 87 and 88 of Dialogue with Trypho

provide the last piece of material in Justin's works which is relevant to a study of the charismata. This passage commences with a question from Trypho. He asks, referring to Isaiah 11:1ff., if Christ needed these gifts, how can he be regarded as pre-existent (divine)? Justin's reply is interesting. Christ did not need the empowering of these gifts. Prophecy was to cease among the Jews after Christ had come, and all the gifts were localized in Christ to accomplish this.[1] Then in accordance with prophecy (Justin cites Ps. 68:16 and Joel 2:28f.), Christ started relaying these gifts to Christians. In 82:1, Justin tells Trypho that he is able to observe Christians in whose lives gifts (χαρίσματα) are present.

The main thrust of this passage is directed towards showing why Christ received gifts from the Holy Spirit and then towards explaining what he

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[1] F.C. Burkitt asserts that Ephraim thought the charismata were spiritual privileges which were lent to Israel and then collected by Christ (Early Eastern Christianity (St. Margaret's Lectures, 1904)(London: John-Murray, 1904), p. 106). It is interesting to note the parallelism between this idea regarding the charismata and the one expressed by Justin in the passage under consideration.

did with them. This is the first explanation of the presence of the charismata in the Church which is to be found in patristic literature. In addition to offering an explanation of Christ's contact with the charismata, this passage coincidentally provides evidence which possibly may show that the charismata were still known in Justin's time.

What the excerpts from Justin's works have to say about the continued existence of the charismata is inescapable; they were a part of the Church's life during Justin's time. However, this assumes that when Justin speaks of the charismata he is historically reliable, and this is an assumption which must be examined: do Justin's comments regarding the charismata accurately reflect conditions in the Church, at least at Rome, in the middle of the second century?

There are two factors which suggest that Justin's comments about the charismata should be accepted as historically reliable. First, it is the widely-held assumption among scholars that Justin is to be trusted when he talks about other features of the Church's life. Justin has a considerable amount to say about

Christian worship and the sacraments: this, scholars in general accept without question as accurately describing conditions which existed in the Roman church.[1] If Justin was able to make trustworthy statements about certain aspects of the life of the Church in Rome, then it is probable that what he says about the charismata also merits acceptance.

Secondly, it has been argued above that there is evidence of charismatic phenomena at Rome both before and after Justin's time: one passage in Clement of Rome's letter to the Corinthians suggests familiarity with the charismata,[2] and there are hints in Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition of charismatic experience.[3]

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[1] See Barnard, 'Justin Martyr in Recent Study,' p. 152, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought, p. 134 by the same author; H. Chadwick, The Early Church (The Pelican History of the Church, 1)(Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 48 and 261f.; H. Lietzmann, The Founding of the Church Universal (A History of the Early Church, Trans. B.L. Woolf, 2)(London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), p. 125f.; J.N.D. Kelly, Early Christian Doctrines(London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968[4]), pp. 89f. and 194ff., and Early Christian Creeds (London: Longmans, 1960[2]), pp. 43 and 70ff. by the same author.

[2] See p. 142ff above.

[3] See p. 277ff above.

If the evidence from these two sources is acceptable, then it is very possible that the charismata were to be found in the church at Rome in the mid-second century.

There are also considerations which suggest that what Justin has to say about the Church may be applicable to more places than just Rome. G.T. Purves says,

> Travelling, as he seems to have done, to the great cities of the Empire; residing, as he certainly did during many years, in the capital itself, and thus at the principal focus of the literary and religious as well as of the social and political activity of his day, he was likely to know Christianity, not in its local peculiarities, but in its universal and essential features.[1]

This assertion is supported by observations made by L. W. Barnard arising out of his study of the term ὁ προεστώς as used by Justin. Barnard says that Justin used this term because he knew that the title 'bishop' was not everywhere applied to the leader of

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[1]G.T. Purves, The Testimony of Justin Martyr to Early Christianity (London: James Nisbet & Co., n.d.), p. 45.

the local church and the celebrant of the Eucharist.[1] Therefore, it seems correct to assume that Justin was familiar with the conditions and practices in a large number of churches. Since this is the case, when Justin makes general statements about the Church - as he does with reference to the charismata - one may not assume that the statements apply only to the church of Rome. Given his background and experience, when Justin makes such comments he may be referring to conditions in a large number of churches. Consequently, when Justin says that the charismata were still to be seen among Christians he may have in mind Christians not only at Rome or Ephesus (where the discussion with Trypho is supposed to have taken place), but also in many other places.

Justin's discussion of the charismata shows that these spiritual phenomena were still a part of Church life in the third quarter of the second century.

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[1]Barnard, Justin Martyr: His Life and Thought, pp. 133 and 150.

The information regarding the charismata which Justin provides is corroborated by a passage from the first full-blown history of the Church, the Historia Ecclesiastica of Eusebius of Caesarea.

This man lived a long and active life. Jerome tells us that Eusebius flourished during the reigns of Constantine the Great and Constantius,[1] but it is possible to be more precise about Eusebius' dates than that. Eusebius says that Dionysius of Alexandria was bishop of the church in that city during his time,[2] and it is known that Dionysius died c. 264 A.D.[3] Therefore, Eusebius was probably born no later than c. 260 A.D. From the historian Socrates we learn that Eusebius died shortly before Constantine the Great's son, Constantine, invaded

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[1] Jerome, Lives of Illustrious Men, 81, Trans. E.C. Richardson, (NPNF. series 2, 3)(Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, n.d. (1893)), p. 378.

[2] Eusebius, H.E., 3, 28:3, Trans. K. Lake (LCL) (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1965(1926)), I, 265.

[3] J. Burel, Denys d'Alexandrie: sa vie, son temps, ses oeuvres (Paris: Bloud and Co., 1910), p. 117.

his brother Constans' territory,[1] an event which occurred in 340 A.D.[2]

From shortly after 300 A.D. until his death, Eusebius is an important figure in the Church. He knew, was respected by, and venerated the first Christian emperor, Constantine[3], and he was deeply involved in the Arian controversy which occupied so much of the Church's time during the first half of the fourth century. In this atmosphere of plots and counter-plots, the role Eusebius played was somewhat ambivalent. His hesitancy to sign the Nicene Creed, among other things, aroused the suspicion of the 'orthodox' party led by Athanasius, and various charges were made

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[1]Socrates, Ecclesiastical History, S. Bagster's translation revised by A.C. Zenos (NPNF. series 2, 2)(Grand Rapids: Em. B. Eerdmans, L957(1890)), p. 16.

[2]H. Lietzmann, From Constantine to Julian, (A History of the Early Church, Trans. B.L. Woolf, 3) (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961), p. 183.

[3]See Eusebius' Life of Constantine and Laus Constantini, S. Bagster's translation revised by E.C. Richardson (NPNF. series 2, 1)(Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1952 (1890) and Socrates, I, 9; p. 16.

against him. Some said that during the persecutions of the first decade of the fourth century, he had given way and offered the sacrifice which the officials required,[1] while others stated that he had been a member of the Arian party.[2] On the other hand, there were those who were prepared to defend Eusebius' 'orthodoxy.'[3] Whatever his theological position, Eusebius was a man with a keen interest in the past and one who took great pains to gather historical material.[4] The fruits of his labour are still invaluable to students of the Early Church.

The results of Eusebius' historical research are embodied in his Historia Ecclesiastica, a monumental

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[1]Athanasius, Apologia Contra Arianos, 8, Trans. M. Atkinson, (NPNF, series 2, 4)(Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1957(1891), p. 104.

[2]See Athanasius, Ad Afros, 6, Trans. H. Ellershaw, (NPNF, 4), p. 492, and Theodoret, Ecclesiastical History, Trans. B. Jackson, (NPNF, series 2, 3)(Grand Rapids: Wm.B. Eerdmans, n.d. (1893), p. 45.

[3]Socrates, I, 8; p. 10ff. and II, 21; p. 47ff.

[4]F.J. Foakes-Jackson, Eusebius Pamphili (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons Ltd., 1933), p. 57.

work which was given its final form c. 320 A.D.[1] There is one passage in which Eusebius expresses an opinion which seems to throw further light upon the place of the charismata in the Early Church. We shall examine this passage, attempting to ascertain exactly what Eusebius is saying and to determine the value of the evidence, but before we do, we shall have to try to evaluate Eusebius as an historian in a general way.

It is evident that in his basic orientation Eusebius is sound. As Lawlor says, "...Eusebius understood the principle...that all history which is worthy of the name must be based on a study of contempo-

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[1]For discussions of the stages or editions through which this book passed see R. Laqueur, Eusebius als Historiker seiner Zeit (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte, Ed. E. Hirsch and H. Lietzmann, 11)(Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1929); H. Lawlor, Eusebius (London: S.P.C.K., 1954(1928)), II, 2-11; K. Lake, Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History (LCL)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1965(1926)), I, xix-xxiv, and D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, Eusebius of Caesarea (Westminster, Maryland: The Canterbury Press, 1961), pp. 39-42.

It can also be noted that Eusebius' H.E. is primarily a history of the churches of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt (See Lawlor, p. 35f. and Foakes-Jackson, p. 94). Eusebius seems to have been limited by ignorance of what had happened in the Church of the western end of the Empire.

rary documents."[1] This conviction led Eusebius to make great effort to get at such material: the H.E. is liberally seasoned with quotations from a wide range of writings. This makes it a veritable mine of information about the thought of men who are unknown outside of its pages.

However, in spite of his passion for primary sources, Eusebius brought several characteristics to his study of history which seriously reduce the historical value of his work. First, he had strong prejudices for which he does not seem to have compensated. His theological presuppositions got in the way of his historical objectivity. This was particularly true when he was dealing with heresy or persecutors. In the case of heretics, he never allows them to speak for themselves, but gives expression to their ideas through some 'orthodox' writer.[2] He also treats the chronologies of heretical groups so as to make them appear to be

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[1] Lawlor, p. 27. See also Foakes-Jackson, p. 139

[2] Lawlor, p. 29ff.

young, and recently established,[1] and thus reduce the credibility of their claim to be representatives of the apostolic faith.

Secondly, he had a lack of critical ability. This is seen most clearly in the manner in which he accepts contradictory conclusions. It is possible to draw up lists of instances in which Eusebius does this.[2] At times this lack of critical faculties led Eusebius into credulity. For example, he accepts an impossible list of bishops for Jerusalem,[3] and he is duped into believing that the Jesus-Abgar correspondence was authentic.[4]

Finally, Eusebius' work is marked by a certain carelessness. Lawlor plausibly suggests that Eusebius

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[1]W. Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity, Trans. Ed. R.A. Kraft and G. Krodel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), p. 191.

[2]See Lawlor, p. 31ff. and J. Stevenson, Studies in Eusebius (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1929), p. 44.

[3]Lawlor, p. 34.

[4]Bauer, p. 10. Bauer seems to be correct in saying that Eusebius himself was deceived rather than that he was trying to deceive his readers.

frequently quotes his sources from memory and that he parcelled out the transcribing of many quotations to assistants without checking their work.[1] This sort of carelessness led to the mutilation of many quotations.

These characteristics which Eusebius brought to his historical investigation combine to make the H.E. unsatisfactory by modern standards.[2] However, in spite of these serious flaws in his approach, Eusebius' H.E. is a work of immense value. It makes available a great deal of information which we never would have had otherwise.

We now turn to H.E., 5, 3:4, the passage which is relevant to our study.

> Just then Montanus, Alcibiades, and Theodotus' party in Phrygia were spreading (ἐκφερομένων) their idea of prophecy among many for the first time (for there were still many (πλεῖσται) other marvelous works of the gifts (χαρίσματα) of God being done in different churches up to that time which gave rise (παρεῖχον) to the

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[1] Lawlor, p. 27.

[2] At the Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies held in Oxford (Sept. 6-11, 1971), R.M. Grant presented a paper entitled "The Case against Eusebius". In the paper Grant disparaged the value of Eusebius' historical writings.

belief among many that these men also were prophets.)[1]

In this passage, Eusebius is offering an explanation for the rapid growth of Montanism which occurred in the early 170's A.D.[2] He attributes the reception which Montanist prophecy received to the fact that many churches were still familiar with the charismata. They were thus preconditioned to accept the unusual. By making this explanation, Eusebius provides evidence of the continuation of charismatic experience in the churches at least of the eastern end of the Empire during the third quarter of the second century.

There remain two questions which must be asked. First, what significance does the word πλεῖστοι have? Bauer says that this word is one of the expressions which Eusebius used in order to aggrandize the Church beyond what the facts require.[3] It is probable that the statement quoted from Eusebius is too sweeping as it stands and needs to be scaled down before it is correct.

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[1] Eusebius, H.E., 5, 3:4. The text is E. Schwartz' (Leipzig, 1903) translated by the present writer.

[2] See pp. 196-208 above.

[3] Bauer, Orthodoxy and Heresy, p. 191.

The second question is: in view of the defects in Eusebius' approach to historical research, can the picture of the Church which he presents here be accepted? In other words, is this evidence for the presence of the charismata acceptable?

I suggest that on the basis of external evidence the picture Eusebius offers can be regarded as accurate. There is a considerable amount of such evidence for the presence of the charismata in the Church in the second half of the second century. One can draw this evidence from the Odes of Solomon,[1] Celsus,[2] the Apocryphal Acts, 3, Justin,[4] and Irenaeus.[5] Of course, the evidence drawn from these sources is not equally strong, but the general impression which is given is that there was still much charismatic activity to be seen in the Church. What Eusebius says in the passage quoted above corresponds

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[1] See pp. 180-184 above.

[2] See pp. 234-239 above.

[3] See pp. 244-254 above.

[4] See pp. 315-319 above.

[5] See pp. 339-342 below.

well to this general impression, and should probably be accepted as correct.

Irenaeus

Attention now shifts from the great cities of the Roman Empire--Rome, Carthage, Alexandria--to Lugdunum (Lyons), the capital of the western province of Gallia Lugdunensis. In this city, it is the voice of Irenaeus, the most voluminous Christian writer of the second century, which must be listened to.

We do not have precise information about the dates of either Irenaeus' birth or death, but we do know other facts about his life. What we do know is highly significant because it allows us to make certain inferences about the view of Christianity which Irenaeus must have had.

First, we know that as a youth--c. 156-157--Irenaeus had come under the influence of the venerable Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna.[1] From this it would appear that Irenaeus was a native of Asia Minor, a region well-known for its theological inquisitiveness and creativity. Ireaneus' early Christianity was the probing, searching

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[1]Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, 5, 20:4-8, Trans. K. Lake (LCL)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1926), I, 497 and 499.

brand of the Greek East.

He next appears on the scene in 177 A.D. as a presbyter of the church at Lyons.[1] Exactly what he had done in the twenty year interval is impossible to say, but it is clear that he had emigrated and made his way to south-eastern Gaul where he associated himself with a church which seems to have been composed primarily of other émigrés from the East like himself.[2] Irenaeus was not a simple member of this church. When he is first mentioned in connection with the church in Lyons

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[1] Eusebius, H.E., 5, 4:1; I, 445.

[2] This is suggested by the following considerations: (1) the bishop under whom Irenaeus served as a presbyter bore a Greek name: Pothinus (Eusebius, H.E., 5, 1:29); (2) it is explicitly stated that one of the martyrs of the persecution under Marcus Aurelius (See p. 197 above.) which is dealt with in a letter preserved by Eusebius, was Attalus from Pergamos in Asia (Eusebius, H.E., 5, 1:17), and (3) the letter in which this information is contained was addressed to Asian and Phrygian churches (Eusebius, H.E., 5, 1:2). See E. Griffe, La Gaule chrétienne: à l'époque romaine (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1964[2]), I, 31. C. Jullian (Histoire de la Gaule (Paris: Hachette et Co., 1909-1926), V, 22) suggests that the violence of the persecution under Marcus Aurelius is to be understood in terms of racial and cultural friction. The native Gauls looked with some disdain upon the Christians, who were foreigners. The Christians who wrote the letter preserved by Eusebius certainly did not have a high opinion of the native Gauls (H.E., 5, 1:57).

it is evident that his superior ability had already been recognized, because he is seen in the role of an emissary who had been chosen to carry letters to the Roman bishop in which the Christians in Gaul expressed an opinion regarding Montanism.[1] From this it may be assumed that Irenaeus had become quite familiar with life in the western Church, both in Gaul and at Rome, the heart of the Empire.

Finally, after the martyrdom of Pothinus (c. 178), Irenaeus became bishop of Lyons.[2] When he assumed this

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[1]Eusebius, H.E., 5, 4:1; I, 445.

[2]Jerome, De viris illustribus, 35 (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1924), p. 29f. The widely-accepted idea that Irenaeus was a bishop of Lyons has been questioned by J. Colin ('Saint Irénée était-il évêque de Lyon?' Latomus 23(1964)81-85). Colin argues that Irenaeus' interests and contacts were with the East, and that Lyons was an isolated city in which there were no Gnostics with whom Irenaeus could debate. Colin concludes that Eusebius, who, he says, was the only author to place Irenaeus at Lyons, must have made a mistake and that Irenaeus really belonged to Asia Minor, living and pursuing his work there. There is no doubt that Irenaeus faces East, a fact which should not be surprising in view of the fact that he was born and grew up there. If Irenaeus makes no mention of Gaul, he equally makes no mention of Asia Minor which cannot be construed in terms of an emigrant's thoughts about his homeland. B. Hemmerdinger effectively opposed Colin's statement that Gaul was out of the mainstream of intellectual

position, he became the shepherd of the churches of a sprawling diocese which included the churches of Lyons and Vienne and scattered parishes in southern Gaul.[1]

These facts combine to form the picture of a man who had a broad knowledge of the Church of his time. Irenaeus had seen the Church in both its eastern and western manifestations and in both urban and rural settings. This extensive contact with the Church within the Empire must have led Irenaeus to a view of Christianity which was cosmopolitan rather than parochial.

Irenaeus took the duties of the episcopate seriously and devoted himself to the protection of true faith of the Church and of his diocese from encroachment by false systems of faith. Of Irenaeus' many writings, two remain extant--The Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching and Adversus Haereses

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life, ('Saint Irénée évêque en Gaule, ou en Galatie?', Revues des études grecque 77(1964)291-292) and draws attention to Adv. haer., 1, 7:6 showing that there was Gnostic activity in the region of Lyons. It is best to regard Irenaeus as a bishop of Lyons.

[1]J.A. Newton, 'Their Word for Our Day: Irenaeus,' ExpT 80(1968-69)200.

(Detection and Overthrow of the Pretended but False Gnosis)--and in both of these various strains of Gnosticism are attacked. These works have caused Irenaeus to be regarded as a full-fledged theologian[1]--probably the first of a new breed of men.

Adversus Haereses merits special attention for what it reveals about Irenaeus as a student. Until the middle of the present century, this work was the major source of information regarding certain second century schools of thought which have been labelled 'Gnosticism'. In the 1940's, F.-M.-M. Sagnard conducted a study in which he attempted to evaluate the accuracy of the information which Irenaeus gives about Valentinianism. As a result of this study, Sagnard is able to outline the sources of Irenaeus' knowledge of Gnosticism,[2] and to assert that the value of Irenaeus' information is confirmed when one compares it to Gnostic

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[1] P. Hefner, 'Theological Methodology and St. Irenaeus,' JR 46(1964)295.

[2] F.-M.-M. Sagnard, La Gnose Valentinienne et le Témoignage de Saint Irénée (Études de Philosophie Medievale, 36)(Paris: J. Vrin, 1947), p. 96.

fragments.[1] He concludes, "Ainsi le témoignage d'Irénée se présente comme devant être d'un poids exceptionnel."[2]

The question of the accuracy of Irenaeus' descriptions of Gnosticism has been taken up again in recent years. This renewed interest was evoked by the discovery in 1945 or 1946 of a collection of over forty Gnostic tractates written in Coptic near Nag Hammadi in Egypt.[3] This find was significant for a number of reasons, one of which is that scholars now have a large body of Gnostic material against which Irenaeus' work may be checked. When Irenaeus' material was compared to that found in the Nag Hammadi library, it was discovered that there is a close correspondence. While discussing this issue, Professor R.McL. Wilson says,

> ...The general reliability of Irenaeus, our earliest major witness, has been abundantly vindicated by the researches of Foerster and

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[1]Sagnard, p. 101.

[2]Sagnard, p. 111.

[3]See R.McL. Wilson, 'Gnostic Library of Nag Hammadi,' ScotJTh 12(1959)161-170 and W.C. van Unnik, Newly Discovered Gnostic Writings (Studies in Biblical Theology)(Naperville: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1960).

> Sagnard, and the conclusions of these scholars are now amply confirmed by such of the Nag Hammadi documents as have been published.[1]

This is also the opinion of H.I.Marrou[2] and G. van Groningen.[3] This means that when Irenaeus decided to examine Gnosticism, he made an effort to get to know it well. A large degree of confidence can be placed in Irenaeus' comments about Gnosticism. Since Irenaeus can be regarded as being generally accurate when he speaks about Gnosticism, the probability is increased that he is also accurate when he mentions other features of the life of the Church of his time.

With this examination of Irenaeus behind us, we can now turn our attention to the evidence he offers to a study of the charismata in the Early Church.

There are two passages in the Adversus haereses

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[1] R.McL. Wilson, Gnosis and the New Testament Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), p. 16.

[2] H.I. Marrou, 'La Théologie de l'histoire dans la Gnose Valentinienne,' The Origins of Gnosticism (Studies in the History of Religion, 12)(Leiden: E.J.Brill), 1970), p. 215.

[3] G. van Groningen, First Century Gnosticism Its Origins and Motifs (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967), pp. 4, 129 n.5, and 173.

in which he lists the charismata which he knows exist in the Church.[1] The first of these is Adv. haer., 2, 49:3--

> ...; because of which and in that name his true disciples, having received grace from him, bring about blessing to the rest of mankind, just as each one has received a gift (δωρεὰν) from him. For it is both absolutely certain that some are driving out demons (δαίμονας ἐλαύνουσιν βεβαίως καὶ ἀληθῶς) with the result that often those who have been cleansed from evil spirits believe and are in the church, and that some have previous knowledge (πρόγνωσις) of things which are going to happen (τῶν μελλόντων), have visions (ὀπτασίας and prophetic words (ῥήσεις προφητικάς), and that others heal the sick (τοὺς κάμνοντας ...ἰῶντας) by the laying on of hands and restore their health, and just as we have already said, even dead people were raised and remained with us for a considerable number of years. And why should I go on? One cannot number the gifts (τῶν χαρισμάτων) which the church throughout the world, having received them in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified

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[1]There are also four other passages from the Adv. haer. which may shed some light upon what Irenaeus thought about the charismata. The first is 4, 7:3 where Irenaeus speaks of prophecy in a way which suggests that it still may be a present phenomenon. The second passage is 4, 53:2 which seems to compare three gifts which were still active: love, knowledge, and prophecy. 4, 52:3 is the third passage and here Irenaeus speaks as though he is giving a warning to false prophets who are still alive and menacing the Church. The last passage is 3, 11:12. Here Irenaeus speaks of prophecy as if he personally approves of it. While these passages may be open to an interpretation which would suggest that the charismata were still in existence, none of them may be regarded as concrete proof.

> under Pontius Pilate, manifests (ἐπιτελεῖ) each day for the blessing of the nations, neither deceiving anyone nor making profit by such manifestation. For as it freely received from God, freely also it ministers.[1]

Irenaeus is arguing against certain heretics who have claimed to have souls of the same kind as that of Jesus and who at times have claimed to be superior to him (Adv.haer.,2, 49:2). Irenaeus says that their works have been of benefit to no one. He then points to the great works which are performed in Jesus' name and which prove that he is greater than the men in question. Irenaeus is not dealing with the past here: he is talking about ways in which Christ ministers to mankind through the Church in the present. He provides a list of charismata which are to be seen in the Church and it is an impressive one including such gifts as the ability to cast out

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[1]Irenaeus as quoted by Eusebius in H.E., 5, 7:3-5 ((LCL)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1926), I, 452 and 454). (Translated by the present author.) The Greek text here, and in the next quotation from Adv.haer., was chosen over the Latin because of the weakness of the Latin translation (See W.W. Harvey, Ed., Adversus Haereses (Cambridge: The University Press, 1852), I, clxiv.). The LCL edition of Eusebius' H.E. was used because it reproduces a better text (Schwartz: Leipzig, 1903) than that which could have been used by Harvey.

demons, the ability to know the future, visions, prophetic speech, and even the ability to raise the dead. The list given by Irenaeus has obvious similarities to those found in Rom. 12 and 1 Cor. 12:. Both Irenaeus' and Paul's lists speak of prophecy and healing, and both include a gift having reference to evil spirits. With Paul it is the ability to distinguish among spirits while with Irenaeus it is exorcism. There is also reference in Irenaeus' and Paul's lists to miraculous occurrences. Paul simply lists the 'effecting of miracles among the charismata (1 Cor. 12:10), but Irenaeus mentions the raising of the dead.

However, for present purposes, the significance of this passage from Adv. haer. lies not in any correspondence it may have with certain Pauline material, but in the fact that it presents the charismata as being a part of the Church as Irenaeus knew it.

The second passage to be examined is Adv. haer., 5, 6:1 -

> And just as we hear (ἀκούομεν) many brethren in the church who have prophetic gifts (προφητικὰ χαρίσματα) and who speak with all sorts of tongues (παντοδαπαῖς ...γλώσσαις) through the Spirit and who bring men's secrets out into

> the open (εἰς φανερὸν) for everyone's good and who expound the mysteries of God.[1]

This passage appears in the midst of a discussion of spiritual perfection which Irenaeus is carrying on. Again there is a brief list of charismata and again there are contacts between this list and those which Paul gives.[2] However, the importance of this passage resides in the fact that in it Irenaeus testifies to having a first-hand acquaintance with the operation of the charismata: he speaks of brethren whom he hears exercising the charismata. This is clear evidence for the existence of the charismata in Irenaeus' time. In view of Irenaeus' accuracy in discussing Gnosticism as confirmed by the Nag Hammadi find, and in view of Irenaeus' familiarity with a large segment of the Church and of his status within it, one may accept this evidence regarding the continued presence of the charismata in the Church in Irenaeus time without

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[1]Irenaeus as quoted by Eusebius in H.E., 5, 7:6

[2]Prophecy and tongues appear in both Paul's and Irenaeus' lists and the abilities Irenaeus mentions to reveal men's secrets and to expound the mysteries of God may correspond to the Pauline 'word of knowledge' (1 Cor. 12:8).

misgivings.[1]

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[1]Eusebius certainly did. See H.E., 5, 7:1 and 6 where he says, "..., and in the second book of this work [Adv. haer.] he proves in the following words that manifestations of the divine and marvellous power had remained in some churches even as far as his time: ...So much on the point that variety of gifts remained among the worthy up till the time spoken of." (Trans. K. Lake (LCL)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1926), I, 451 and 455.

Excerpta ex Theodoto

As has been noted,[1] Irenaeus gave himself to an attack on various Gnostic systems by which he found himself confronted. There can be no doubt that these systems posed a real threat to the Church of the second century. Nevertheless, Theodotus, a representative of the eastern branch of Valentinianism[2] (one of the more important second century Gnostic groups) provides information relevant to a study of the charismata. Much of the teaching of Theodotus, who was active between 160 and 170 A.D.,[3] is preserved for us in Clement of Alexandria's Excerpta ex Theodoto.[4]

This work contains a passage, the ideas of which

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[1] See p. 335f. above.

[2] R. McL. Wilson, The Gnostic Problem (London: Mowbray, 1958), p. 128.

[3] F. Sagnard, Extraits de Théodote (SCH, 23) (Paris: Cerf, 1948), p. 7.

[4] R.P. Casey (The Excerpta ex Theodoto of Clement of Alexandria (London: Christophers, 1934), pp. 4 and 14) argues that this document is a note book made up of jottings and partially formed ideas written down by Clement as he mulled over the thought of Theodotus and the early teaching of the eastern branch of the Valentinian movement.

seem to come from Theodotus himself,[1] which is of importance to the present study. The passage is 24:1, and it reads--

> The Valentinians say that the excellent Spirit (πνεῦμα ἐξαίρετον) which each of the prophets had for his ministry (εἰς διακονίαν) was poured out upon all those of the church. Therefore the signs of the Spirit, healings and prophecies, are being performed (ἐπιτελοῦνται) by (διά) the church.[2]

It is somewhat difficult to determine exactly what Theodotus wished to say in this brief passage. On one hand, he could be attempting to establish an identity between the Spirit who inspired the (presumably OT) prophets and the Spirit who had been poured out upon the Church. From the continued presence of certain phenomena such as prophecy and healings in the Church, phenomena which had also marked the ministries of the prophets, Theodotus could be arguing that it was the same Spirit who stood behind these in both eras. On

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[1]Casey, p. 6.

[2]Clement, Excerpta ex Theodoto, 24:1, Ed. R.P. Casey (London: Christophers, 1934), p. 58

the other hand, Theodotus could be trying to provide an explanation for certain features of his milieu, namely, the charismata. They were to be regarded as the results of the continued activity of the Spirit who had performed miracles through the prophets of the OT.

However, regardless of what the main thrust of this passage is, it provides evidence for the existence of the charismata within the circles in which Theodotus moved.

In order to focus this evidence more clearly, one must ask what the Valentinians meant by 'church' (ἐκκλησία). Clement does not see any distinctive usage of the word on the part of the Valentinians. In Excerpta 24:1, he quotes them as they use the word twice, and then in Excerpta 24:2 he himself employs the word, saying nothing about any possible difference of meaning. Either 'church' was used in the same sense by the Valentinians and the more orthodox sections of the Church, or Clement was ignorant of the distinction.

However, F. Sagnard argues that the Valentinians did apply a distinctive meaning to ἐκκλησία. He says

that for the Valentinians, ἐκκλησία meant the assembly of the elect, of the initiates into Gnosis, i.e., the Valentinian Church as opposed to the non-Valentinian Church of the 'psychics' (i.e., ordinary Christians).[1] In the eyes of a Valentinian, the ἐκκλησία was composed of Valentinians only. If Sagnard is correct in his comments on the Valentinian concept of the Church, and if this concept was current in the Valentinian school when Theodotus was active in it, then one is able to conclude that Excerpta ex Theodoto, 24:1 is evidence for the existence of healing and prophecy within the eastern Valentinian community in the third quarter of the second century.

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[1]F. Sagnard, La Gnose Valentinienne (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1947), p. 302f.

(2) Third Century Christianity

Firmilian

The first piece of information dating from the third century which may have a bearing upon the charismata comes from Cappadocian Caesarea and is found in the correspondence of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage. In 256 A.D.,[1] the bishop of Caesarea, Firmilian, wrote a letter to Cyprian in which he said, among other things,

> About twenty-two years ago,...suddenly there arose here a certain woman who in a state of ecstasy put herself forward as a prophetess and acted as if she were filled with the Holy Spirit. But, on the contrary, she was being carried by the force of the chief demons in such a way that for a long time she disturbed and deceived the church (fraternitatem), bringing about certain astonishing and extraordinary things, and she also promised that she would move the earth. (Not that the power of the demon was so great that he was strong enough to move the earth or disturb the elements, but that sometimes an evil spirit, knowing in advance that there would be an earthquake (praesciens et intellegens terrae motum futurum), pretends that he will do what he sees happening in the future (quod futurum videret).) With these lies and boasts he had subdued the minds of many so that they were obedient to him and followed wherever he advised or led. He also made that woman walk bare-footed

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[1] J. Quasten, Patrology (Utrecht: Spectrum Publishers, 1953), II, 128.

> through frozen snow in the dead of winter (cruda hieme) and prevented her from being troubled by it or being injured by the walk. Also she would say that she was hurrying to Judea and Jerusalem, feigning as if she had come from there. Here also she led astray a presbyter, a man with a rural background (de presbyteris Rusticum), and another deacon also, in order that they might join (commiscerentur) the woman--which was discovered soon afterwards. Suddenly one of the exorcists confronted her (apparuit illi), a man who had been proven and who always lived a religiously disciplined life (conversatus circa religiosam disciplinam), who, also inspired by the exhortation of many brethren who were present, who even themselves were strong and praiseworthy in the faith, rose up to subdue that evil spirit, which also had a short time earlier, with subtle deceit, predicted that a certain opposing and unbelieving assailant would come. However, that exorcist inspired by the grace of God resisted strongly and showed that spirit which was previously thought to be holy to be very evil.

This prophetess who had appeared c. 234 A.D. (i.e., 22 years before Firmilian wrote his letter) had certainly stirred up the ecclesiastical circles of Cappadocia. Following the passage quoted, Firmilian goes on to say that this woman had also officiated at both baptisms and eucharists, a practice which was highly irregular because of her sex. Before attempting

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[1]Firmilian, Epistula Cypriani, 75, 10, Ed. G. Hartel (CSEL, III, 2)(Vindobon:C. Geroldi, 1871), pp. 816f.

to ascertain the importance of the information this letter contains, we must have a close look at Firmilian, the man who gives it to us.[1]

Firmilian appears in the records of the Church as a bishop of Caesarea who held his episcopal chair for an extended period[2] and who, according to Dionysius of Alexandria, a contemporary, had attained to a position of eminence in the Church.[3] He is also known to have been an associate of Origen and, therefore, to have moved in the intellectual circles of his day.[4] He attended three synods held at Antioch in order to deal with heresy[5] (Novatianism was the subject of the first, and Paul of Samosata was combatted at the last two), and was highly regarded by his colleagues at

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[1]See the discussion of the authenticity and genuineness of Firmilian's letter in E.W. Benson, Cyprian: His Life, His Times, His Work (London: Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1897), pp. 377-386.

[2]Eusebius, The Ecclesiastical History, 6, 27:1 and 7, 14:1, Trans. J.E.L. Oulton (London: William Heinemann 1932), II, 79 and 171.

[3]Eusubius, 7, 5:1; II, 139.

[4]Eusebius, 6, 27:1; II, 79.

[5]Eusebius6, 46:3 and 7, 30:2-4; II, 131 and 215.

these synods. This regard is illustrated by the fact that he was one of the two bishops mentioned in the communiqué issued by the fourth Antiochene synod (the third dealing with Paul of Samosata) as having been invited previously to come to Antioch to help deal with Paul.[1] At the synods Firmilian attended, he played an important role, presiding over them.[2] It was he who had adjourned the two synods after Paul had promised to mend his ways.[3] Furthermore, he had been called to Antioch a third time to deal with Paul, and the bishops who had assembled had delayed the beginning of the proceedings awaiting his arrival.[4] This information illustrates the high regard in which Firmilian was held by his colleagues. He died in 268 A.D.[5] in Tarsus,[6] on his way to Antioch for the fourth time.

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[1]Eusebius, 7, 30:3; II, 215.

[2]G. Bardy, Paul de Samosate (Louvain and Paris, 1932), p.212.

[3]Eusebius, 7, 30:4, II, 217.

[4]Eusebius, 7, 30:5; II, 217.

[5]Bardy, p. 217f.

[6]Eusebius, 7, 30:5; II, 217.

We must now attempt to determine whether or not Firmilian was a reliable conveyor of information about the prophetess who is mentioned in the passage quoted above. There is divergent evidence relating to this question. The affirmative answer is supported by the high esteem in which Firmilian was held by his contemporaries: he was regarded as being capable of arriving at sound judgments, and as being an astute defender of Christian doctrine.

On the other hand, there are several considerations which tend to cast doubt on Firmilian's reliability as a reporter of the instance in question. First, Firmilian does not seem to be using a written source for the information which he is passing on, an idea suggested by the fact that many details are lacking: no names are given either of the prophetess or of the clergymen who joined her (unless 'Rusticum' is to be regarded as a name rather than an adjectival expression) or of the exorcist who challenged her; the date of the events recorded is uncertain, Firmilian being able to say only "ante viginti enim et duos fere annos;" the length of time during which the prophetess was active is uncertain

(per longum tempus), and there is uncertainty regarding the miracles she performed (admirabilia quaedam et portentosa perficiens). It is possible that Firmilian is suppressing what he viewed as unnecessary details in favour of brevity, but it seems that if he had had a written source before him, at least names would have been mentioned.

The second consideration which renders Firmilian's historical reliability suspect is the fact that in debate he seems to tend towards indulgence in character-assassination and in the amplification of his opponent's weaknesses. In the letter in which he states his views on heretical baptism (which is the same letter which contains the passage quoted above), Firmilian attacks Stephen, the bishop of Rome (254-257 A.D.), who held a position opposing his on the question. In his attack, Firmilian bluntly compares Stephen with Judas,[1] charges Stephen with having boasted about his episcopal chair,[2]

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[1]Firmilian, 75, 2; p. 811.

[2]Firmilian, 75, 7; p. 821

states that Stephen is worse than the heretics,[1] stresses the harm that the Roman bishop had done,[2] attacks him with biting sarcasm,[3] and asserts that Stephen had a mind that is slippery, shifting, and uncertain (lubrica, mobilis, incerta).[4] These thrusts against Stephen's person appear in a letter in which there is also a powerful attack against the position Stephen held. Firmilian seems to think that the ideas Stephen endorsed would be even less acceptable if Stephen himself could be shown to be a rogue. If this treatment of Stephen was characteristic of Firmilian's conduct in controversy, what implications would this have for his handling of the case of the prophetess, a woman who had administered the sacraments outside the confines of the Church, a practice of which Firmilian must have strongly disapproved? He may have tended to accept the more lurid details of the story uncritically.

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[1]Firmilian, 75, 23; p. 824.

[2]Firmilian, 75, 24; p. 825.

[3]Firmilian, 75, 25; p. 826.

[4]Firmilian, 75, 25; p. 826.

There is a third consideration which throws doubt upon Firmilian's ability to record the events with which he deals accurately: he was separated from the events by over twenty years. This is a sufficient time lag to allow the nature of the events in question, and the details, to become distorted to a greater or lesser degree.

There can be no doubt that Firmilian was a respected leader of the Church of his time and that he was a better than average student and teacher of the Christian faith. However, the above considerations make it necessary to doubt his reliability as an historian, at least in the case in question. All the factors to which attention has been drawn combine to show that Firmilian cannot be trusted to have conveyed accurately the details of what really happened when that shocking prophetess appeared in Cappadocia.

One must ask then how are the happenings of which Firmilian speaks to be understood? There are two alternatives. On the one hand, Firmilian's account can be taken at face value and the actions of the prophetess can be viewed as being those of, if not a demoniac as Firmilian thinks she was, at least a

religious quack. On the other hand, assuming that there really was something behind Firmilian's account--and this seems to be the case--, one can strip off most of the details he gives and accept something like the following: around 230-235 A.D., a woman appeared who prophesied in ecstasy and who claimed to be inspired by the Holy Spirit. She gained a following even among the clergy by virtue of the miracles she performed, and she administered the sacraments. Her actions troubled the Church in the area, and it retaliated *via* an exorcist.

There are two obstacles in the path leading to the acceptance of the second alternative suggested now. From Firmilian's account, one gets the impression that the demon forced the woman to walk in the snow in order to show his ability to protect her from the normal effects of nature. Taken in this sense, it was a bizarre act probably arising out of excessive enthusiasm. If she really was inspired by the Holy Spirit to prophesy, this act would cheapen her by its sensationalistic nature. However, perhaps the context in which the act was performed provided an explanation

of it, but, unfortunately, the act exists in isolation: no context is given, and the act cannot be given respectability by assuming a context for which there is no evidence. As it stands, the walk was a piece of eccentricity.

The second obstacle is the exorcist. If the exorcist was regarded as having cast out a demon and if the woman stopped prophesying immediately afterwards, it would be impossible to see her as manifesting the same charisma of prophecy as was known elsewhere in the Church.[1] However, it is not stated that the exorcist did cast out a spirit who had prompted the woman's prophesying. Rather, he had shown it to be most wicked (esse illum nequissumum spiritum...ostendit.)[2] The question which must be answered is: most wicked in the eyes of whom? and the answer to this question is: in the eyes of those who opposed her. It is to be remembered that Maximilla, the Montanist prophetess, was also dealt

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[1]For example, see p. 339f. above.

[2]Firmilian, 75, 10; p. 817.

with as a demoniac,[1] but it has been seen that there are grounds for assuming that the charismatic phenomena characterizing Montanism were not dissimilar from those known in the Church-at-large during the second half of the second century.[2] Therefore, it does not follow that this prophetess was a demoniac because a segment of the Church of her time branded her as such.

Therefore, these two obstacles in the path of seeing this Cappadocian prophetess as one who delivered her messages in ecstasy, who claimed to be inspired by the Holy Spirit, and who attracted a following by performing miracles are not insurmountable. Since this is the case, this is the understanding of the events which should be accepted, because Firmilian's historical unreliability makes accepting the account as he gives it unwise. Therefore, Firmilian's letter can be regarded as providing further evidence for the continued presence of the charismata within Christian circles.[3]

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[1] Eusebius, 5, 18:13; I, 493.

[2] See pp. 218-221 above.

[3] For a discussion of the prophetess's connection

with Montanism, see de Labriolle, La crise montaniste, p. 487f. de Labriolle suggests that the woman's mention of Judaea and Jerusalem precludes her being a Montanist. However, as de Labriolle points out, Montanus had renamed Pepuza, a Phrygian town, calling it Jerusalem as part of his eschatological teaching. The prophetess could have been referring to Pepuza by its new name.

Nevertheless, there does seem to be reason to believe that she was not a Montanist. Firmilian says she appeared suddenly, and this suggests that she did not belong to a sect such as Montanism which would have had a continuous emphasis upon prophecy. Furthermore, she appeared between 230 and 235 A.D., and it is unlikely that Montanism would be making its first appearance in Cappadocia this late: the Montanist movement arose during the early 170's A.D. (See pp. 196-208 above.), and Phrygia was fairly close to Cappadocia. However, if Montanism had been known in Cappadocia 40 or 50 years before this prophetess appeared, it is improbable that she would have attracted the following that she did, especially from among the clergy, because the early battles against Montanism would still be remembered. All this leads one to believe that this prophetess appeared within the mainstream of Cappadocian Christianity.

Origen

Having considered the light thrown upon the charismata by Firmilian, an associate of Origen's, we now turn to Origen himself. Eusebius is the best source of information regarding the life of this prominent Alexandrian and in the brief account of Origen's life which follows his work will be heavily relied upon.[1]

Eusebius makes it clear that Origen grew up in a Christian home, and that early in life he was led in a study of the Scriptures by his father.[2] When he was sixteen, his father was martyred in the persecution under Septimius Severus (202-203 A.D.).[3] As a result of this persecution, the catechetical school in Alexandria was left without a teacher and people began to come to the youth, Origen, for instruction in Christianity. He

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[1]Eusebius claims to have had two sources for the material in his lengthy account of Origen's life and work: certain letters, and information gathered from surviving pupils of Origen: H.E., 6, 2:1, Trans. J.E.L. Oulton (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1931), II, 11.

[2]Eusebius, 6, 2:2-11; II, 11-15.

[3]Eusebius, 6, 2:2-11; II, 11-15.

was officially appointed as head of the catechical school while he was still seventeen.[1] de Faye argues that the period from 205 to 215 A.D. was extremely important for Origen. During this period he developed a theological system from which he never deviated throughout his life.[2] An important influence upon this formative time in Origen's life was the study of Philosophy, especially it seems of the Middle Platonists: Gaius, Albinus, Atticus, Maximus of Tyre, Celsus and Numenius.[3] There were two main factors which prompted Origen to make a study of Philosophy: he thought that a familiarity with Philosophy was important for the comprehension of Christianity,[4] and he wanted to deal adequately both with heretics and with some who had studied Greek philosophy who were coming to him. He decided that in order to do this he had to understand

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[1]Eusebius, 6, 3:1-3; II, 17.

[2]E. de Faye, Origène: sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1923), I, 17.

[3]J. Daniélou, Origen, Trans. W. Mitchell (London and New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), p. 79.

[4]Eusebius, 6, 18:1-4; II, 55.

their intellectual backgrounds.[1] On this point, Daniélou says,

> He was an apostle, a missionary, who saw that if he was to expound Christianity to the leading minds of his day, he must know the philosophy by which they lived, for only so would he be in a position to answer their difficulties and stress the factors in Christianity likely to appeal to them most.[2]

In 232 A.D., Origen moved to Caesarea in Palestine[3] where he set up another school which was soon attracting even foreign students.[4] Origen endured heavy persecution under Decius and bore up well under this strain.[5] Jerome states that he died in Tyre in his

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[1] Eusebius, 6, 19:12; II, 61.

[2] Daniélou, p. 73.

[3] Eusebius, 6, 26:1; II 79. The circumstances which surrounded this move are, at least, unpleasant. Eusebius says that because of "an urgent necessity in Church matters," Origen was ordained in Caesarea (6, 23:4; II, 71). It seems as though this act offended bishop Demetrius of Alexandria and led him to make an attack upon Origen (Jerome, De viris illustribus, 54, Ed. W. Herding (Leipzig: G.B. Teubner, 1924), p. 37.). It appears that this attack brought about the final rupture between Origen and the Christian community of Alexandria.

[4] Eusebius, 6, 30:1; II, 83.

[5] Eusebius, 6, 39:5: II, 95.

69th year.[1]

Origen is important for a study of the charismata, there being passages from a number of his works which have a bearing on the subject. In dealing with these passages a comment made by Daniélou must be kept in mind. While discussing what Origen's works reveal about certain ecclesiastical matters, Daniélou says,

> With reference to each of these points we shall have to consider on the one hand the evidence Origen provides about the concrete facts as they were in his time, and on the other his own personal view of the hierarchy, Christian worship and the sacraments.[2]

If this distinction is maintained, it will help to clarify what Origen had to say about the charismata.

When we attempt to ascertain Origen's personal thinking about the charismata, we find that the gifts which he mentions most frequently are the 'word of wisdom' and the 'word of knowledge'. They are mentioned in De principiis, 2, 7:3 and 1, 3:8, in Contra Celsum, 3, 18; 3, 46, and 7, 23, and in On Joshua, 26:2. Origen also talks about prophecy (On Exodus, 4, 5),

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[1]Jerome, 54; p. 37.

[2]Daniélou, p. 27.

apparently thinking that the contemporary function of this charisma was to aid the interpreter of Scripture.

Origen seems to have thought that the charismata had a definite role to play in the Christian Church. As he saw it, the main purpose of the charismata was to bring personal benefit to individual Christians. This is brought out very clearly in Contra Celsum, 3, 18, where Origen says that the word of wisdom and the word of knowledge help the student to become learned in Christianity (ἐν χριστιανισμῷ πολυμαθής).[1]

This understanding of the charismata is in complete accord with Origen's theological system, but it is at variance with what the Apostle Paul has to say about them. Paul saw the charismata as functioning within the Christian community, and having as their main purpose the edification of the whole community.[2]

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[1]This attitude is illustrated in Origen's eighth Homily on Joshua. In the first section of this homily, Origen states that he needs 'the word of wisdom' and 'the word of knowledge' in order to grasp the truth contained in the passage confronting him and to explain it correctly (On Joshua, 8, 1, Trans. A. Jaubert (SCH, 71)(Paris: Cerf, 1960), p. 219.

[2]See p. 87f. above.

Paul's understanding of the charismata has little in common with Origen's thinking.

Having examined Origen's thought regarding the charismata, we shall now focus attention upon those passages in his works which seem to give evidence for the presence of the charismata in the Church of the first half of the third century. These passages are four in number and all four come from Origen's Contra Celsum.[1] They have in common the statement that traces (ἐνέργειαι) of the activity of the Holy Spirit remain among Christians. The passages will be presented together, with detailed comment upon them being reserved until later in order to facilitate a comparison of their ideas.

Contra Celsum, 1, 2.

Here, Origen is involved in a discussion of how the validity of the Gospel is demonstrated. In doing so he states that the miracles which attested to the validity of the Gospel in the Apostolic age are proved

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[1]This work was written in the late 240's A.D. (See p. 228 n. 1). For a discussion of the evidence which Celsus gives regarding charismatic activity and which is preserved in Origen's Contra Celsum see pp. 180-190 above.

to have happened by the fact that traces of them still remain.

> This more divine demonstration the apostle calls a 'demonstration of spirit and of power'--of spirit because of the prophecies and especially those which refer to Christ, which are capable of convincing anyone who reads them; of power because of the prodigious miracles which may be proved to have happened by this argument among many others, that traces of them still remain among those who live according to the will of the Logos.[1]
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> Contra Celsum, 1, 46.

In this passage, having talked about miracles as they were found in Jesus' ministry and then about the role they played in the primitive Church, Origen goes on to say,

> Traces of that Holy Spirit who appeared in the form of a dove are still preserved among Christians. They charm daemons away and perform many cures and perceive certain things about the future according to the will of the Logos.[2]
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> Contra Celsum, 2, 8.

Origen is here discussing the lot of the Jews after Jesus' advent.

> They no longer have any prophets or wonders,

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[1]Origen, Contra Celsum, 1, 2, Trans. H. Chadwick (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1953), p. 8.

[2]Origen, Contra Celsum, 1, 46; p. 42

> though traces of these are to be found to a considerable extent among Christians. Indeed, some works are even greater; and if our word may be trusted, we also have seen them.[1]

Contra Celsum, 7, 8.

In this passage, Origen is considering a claim made by Celsus that he had seen prophets in Palestine.

> But signs of the Holy Spirit were manifested at the beginning when Jesus was teaching, and after his ascension there were many more, though later they became less numerous. Nevertheless, even to this day there are traces of him in a few people whose souls have been purified by the Logos and by the actions which follow his teaching.[2]

There are several points arising out of these passages from the Contra Celsum which must be given attention. First, one is required to ask what these traces were. In 1, 2, they are miracles; in 2, 8, prophets and wonders, and in 7,8, signs of the Holy Spirit. In 1, 46, however, Origen lists three of these traces and his list parallels Paul's lists (Rom. 12 and 1 Cor. 12) in several respects: in both lists there is reference to human activity in connection with good and bad spirits--in Origen's statement, Christians charm

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[1] Origen, Contra Celsum, 2, 8; p. 72

[2] Origen, Contra Celsum, 7,8; p. 401f.

out bad spirits, while in Paul's list, the ability to distinguish between good and bad spirits is mentioned (1 Cor. 12: 10)--, and both lists mention the ability to heal. Furthermore, the ability to foresee the future corresponds to the one aspect of the NT prophet's activity as illustrated in the life of Agabus (see Acts 21:11). In 1 Cor., the components of the list are attributed to divine enabling and are called charismata. In Contra Celsum, 1, 46, similar phenomena are seen as traces of the Holy Spirit. In view of this, it seems reasonable to regard Origen's brief list as a list of charismata.

Are then the 'traces' mentioned in the passages other than 1, 46 to be regarded as charismata also? It would seem that the answer to this question should be affirmative. 1, 2 refers to traces of miracles which served to authenticate the Gospel: one of the charismata Paul lists in 1 Cor. 12:10 is "the effecting of miracles". Traces of prophets and wonders are mentioned in 2, 8: both of these appear in the Pauline lists of charismata. 7, 8 speaks of traces of signs of the Holy Spirit which had been present in abundance after Christ's ascension.

This sounds like a reference to the charismatic experience of the NT Church. On the basis of these considerations, it seems correct to understand the traces of the Holy Spirit of which Origen speaks as being occasional appearances of the charismata.

The second fact to be noted about these passages is Origen's repeated statement that it is only 'traces' (ἴχνη) of the Spirit and the Spirit's activity that remain. Furthermore, in Contra Celsum, 7, 8, Origen says that the traces of the Holy Spirit are observable "in a few people...." It is obvious that by the time Origen wrote the Contra Celsum--the mid-third century--the tide of charismatic experience within the Church had ebbed considerably. Origen knew that the charismata had once been common features in the life of the Church--Contra Celsum, 1, 2 and 7, 8--, but by the latter part of his lifetime their occurrence had become quite sporadic.

The third point which must be given attention is the fact that Contra Celsum, 2, 8 gives information which seems to modify certain conclusions reached on the basis of the other three passages. We have just

observed that Origen says that the charismata have become less common in the life of the Church, but now we hear him saying that, although prophecy and wonders have disappeared from among the Jews, there are still traces of them among Christians and this "to a considerable extent" (ἐπὶ ποσόν). And furthermore, having made the proper and polite qualification--"...; and if our word may be trusted..."--Origen proceeds to claim that he had been an eyewitness of manifestations of the charismata. How are we to make sense of this apparent change of direction? Is Origen to be regarded as employing hyperbole for purposes of apologetics? Before we attempt to answer these questions, it will be helpful to spend a little more time looking at Origen as a man.

First and foremost, Origen was a Churchman. Later generations condemned much of his work,[1] but throughout his life Origen served the Church with great devotion. Having conducted a study of Origen's life, Daniélou says,

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[1]See Daniélou, p. viii.

> We have seen from his life that he had been catechist, lector, priest, doctor, and martyr by turns: the whole of his life was spent in the discharge of ecclesiastical functions. In that respect, his works are deeply rooted in the Christianity of his time.[1]

Not only did Origen spend his life in the service of the Church, but he was highly regarded by many of his contemporary Christians. He may have fallen out of favour with the Church after his death, but that was certainly not the case during his life. While at Alexandria, his manner of life and his gifts won for him wide-spread fame,[2] a fame which was not greatly damaged by his split with the Alexandrian Christian community. The high regard in which he was held by at least a large segment of the Church is illustrated by the fact that on at least two occasions[3] he was invited to help deal with perversions of doctrine and, according to Eusebius, he played a leading role on each occasion.

In addition to this, one must remember that Origen

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[1]Daniélou, p. 27.

[2]Eusebius, 6, 23:2; II, 17 and 6, 19:19; II, 65.

[3]Eusebius, 6, 33:1-3; II, 87 and 6, 37:1; II, 91.

was very familiar with the Church of his time. As well as having lived and taught in Alexandria and Caesarea, he had visited Rome,[1] Arabia,[2] Antioch,[3] Greece,[4] and Cappadocian Caesarea[5] for indefinite periods of time. One may assume that in the course of such a life, Origen must have become knowledgeable about conditions as they existed in the churches in many cities and regions in the Empire. His outlook on the Church was anything but parochial.

Finally we should note that Origen was no wild-eyed pneumatic straining to build a case for the charismata. In fact, as has been shown above,[6] he holds a view of the charismata which differs significantly from even the moderate view expressed by the Apostle Paul. What Origen says about the charismata

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[1]Eusebius, 6, 14:10; II, 51.

[2]Eusebius, 6, 19:15; II, 63.

[3]Eusebius, 6, 21:4; II, 67 and 69.

[4]Eusebius, 6, 23:4; II, 71.

[5]Eusebius, 6, 27:1; II, 79.

[6]See p. 364 above.

does not come out of a fervent Apologia on their behalf, but always occurs incidentally in passages where the main subject is something else.

Taken together, these considerations suggest that when Origen says that the charismata were still to be seen to a considerable extent among Christians and that he had seen them, one has grounds for taking these words at, at least, close to face value.

Whether or not Origen is correct in saying that the charismata were still present "to a considerable extent", the fact that in four passages he states that traces of them were still to be found in Christian circles is significant. Keeping in mind Origen's cosmopolitan view of the Church, one perhaps can conclude that Origen knew of occasional manifestations of the charismata which were occurring about the time the Contra Celsum was being written, in a large part of the Roman Empire.

Conclusion

In Part I above, we saw that the charismata were a valued and widely-spread feature of the NT Church. We have now examined all pre-Nicene, non-biblical material--produced by one or other branch of the Church--which has a bearing upon the charismata, and we are prepared to begin drawing conclusions.

However, before we do this, we must remind ourselves of the difficulties inherent in making generalizations about the Early Church. These difficulties exist because of the limited nature of the sources. The entire literary deposit of the mainstream of ante-Nicene Christianity, from which the history of this part of the Church must in main be constructed, numbers not more than 200 documents,[1] and the vast majority of these date after 150 A.D. These 200 documents are the work of only slightly over 70 authors. Yet during the second and third centuries Christians probably numbered into the hundreds of

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[1] In addition to these there are over 20 published documents which arose out of Gnosticism. This number will be increased when the whole of the Nag Hammadi library has been published.

thousands.[1] There are also extended periods before 320 A.D. when complete silence enshrouds Christian communities in certain areas.[2] All of this highlights the fact that, even when we call upon the assistance of archaeology and epigraphy, information about the pre-Nicene Church remains sparse. Therefore, caution must be exercised when making generalizations about the Church of this period.

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[1]Regarding the number of Christians prior to 320 A.D., see A. von Harnack, The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries, Ed. and Trans. J. Moffatt (London: Williams and Norgate, 1905), 2 vols. In II, 266-445, Harnack enumerates over 530 towns in which Christian communities can be proven to have existed before 320 A.D. The communities in some of these towns were small, but on the other hand, some were very large--Antioch, for example, had a church membership numbering over 100,000 c. 320 A.D. (II, 285), and the church in Rome c. 257 A.D. could count between 30,000 and 50,000 members (II, 387) Harnack further states that it is certain that very many places, for which accurate records are not available, had important Christian communities before 320 A.D. (II, 240). F. van der Meer and Christine Mohrmann (Atlas of the Early Christian World, Trans. and Ed. Mary F. Hedlund and H.H. Rowely (London: Nelson, 1966), map 4) indicate that even before 304 A.D. there were some 600 churches in existence.

[2]For example, nothing is known about the Bithynian Church from the time when Pliny wrote his famous letter to Trajan (110-111 A.D.) until the Council of Nicaea (325 A.D.).

Now we move on to the conclusions.

First, it can be said that the charismata were a well-known feature of the Church throughout the second century. Evidence of prophecy is to be found in the Didache dating from the latter part of the first century and in the personal experience of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, in the early part of the second. From Ignatius' letters it can also be deduced that the Christians of Asia Minor were familiar with the charismata and had a positive attitude towards them. There are also considerations which suggest that these spiritual phenomena were a part of the life of the Church at Rome during Clement's time.

This situation--wide-spread familiarity with the manifestations of the charismata--seems to have persisted as the century progressed. During the first half of the century, the author of the Odes of Solomon wrote as a prophet, and the Shepherd of Hermas issued warnings about false prophets, looking upon them as a contemporary problem.

By the middle of the second century, a significant development had taken place in the Church. A sufficient

degree of homogeneity had developed among the majority of Christians (by no means complete homogeneity) to allow a distinction to be made between mainstream Christianity and divergent groups which branched off or grew out of it. Within both of these segments of Christianity there is evidence of the presence of the charismata during the second half of the second century.

From within the mainstream of the Church, Justin provides strong evidence for continued charismatic activity, possibly reflecting conditions in a fairly large part of the Roman Empire. Irenaeus in Gaul offers strong evidence too, and Eusebius makes a general statement about the continuing role of the charismata in the Church, which perhaps may apply to the whole empire, but probably only to the East.

From among the divergent groups, there is information which suggests that Montanism was marked by prophecy and glossolalia, and there are hints (via Theodotus in Clement of Alexandria's Excerpta ex Theodoto) that the charismata were known among the Valentinians.

The questionable evidence from Celsus, the

opponent of Christianity, and from the Apocryphal Acts may serve to add some weight to the impression which is gained from the sources we have just reviewed: the charismata constitute an important feature of the life of the Church throughout the second century.

The second conclusion is that the charismata continued to appear on into the third century, but well before 250 A.D. they had begun to decline in importance. There is no mention of them after c. 260 A.D. Tertullian provides strong evidence of charismatic experience in Carthage in the early years of the third century; there are substantial indications in Hippolytus' Apostolic Tradition of the presence of the charismata in Rome; Firmilian cites a case in Cappadocia which was probably marked by charismata, and there are suggestions in Novatian's De trinitate that these phenomena were still known in Rome in the mid—third century.

At this point, the evidence provided by Origen in his Contra Celsum (written c. 248 A.D.) must be given special attention. In this work he testifies that there were still traces of the charismata to

be found in the Church and that he, himself, had seen them. Given Origen's place in the Church and his knowledge of it, this evidence may be applicable to Christian communities in a large area.

However, Origen can do no more than report that there are only traces of the charismata to be seen. It is obvious that the frequency of appearance and the importance of the charismata had both declined in the years prior to his writing. Some of the traces of which Origen speaks are to be seen in the life of the mid—third century Alexandrian bishop, Dionysius and in the experience of an indefinite number of people mentioned in the writings of Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, including Cyprian himself.

Thus there is evidence of continued familiarity with the charismata in both Egypt and North Africa. In the latter region, most of the evidence relates to Cyprian and all of it is found in his writing: these phenomena do not appear to have been wide-spread or frequent during Cyprian's time. After c. 260, there is no further mention of the charismata prior to the Council of Nicaea.

In summation, one can say that the charismata, which were important in the NT Church, continued to be a widely-known feature of the Church throughout the second century and into the third. However, in the early decades of the third century a decline in their importance began and continued until they dropped from sight c. 260 A.D. And now the question is: why?

III

DECLINE IN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CHARISMATA

In Part II, an examination of the charismatic experience of the Pre-Nicene Church was undertaken, and it produced two conclusions: (1) the charismata were a well-known feature of the Church throughout the second century; (2) the charismata continued to appear into the third century, but in the early decades of that century a decline in their importance continued which ended in their dropping from sight c. 260 A.D.

The problem now is how to account for this decline in the importance of the role played by the charismata. This is not a new problem: in the late fourth century, John Chrysostom said that people often asked him why glossolalia no longer accompanied baptism as it had done in Apostolic days.[1] His reply was that God had withdrawn this and related gifts

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[1]John Chrysostom, De sancto Pentecoste, Hom.1, 4 (MG, 49), 459 and 460.

because He thought that the Church was mature enough spiritually to be able to believe without such signs. Therefore, their absence was to be regarded as a divine compliment.

With due respect to Chrysostom, he has no doubt oversimplified the matter: the decline of the charismata is a more complex issue than his answer would suggest. This attempt to handle the problem will move through several phases: first, we shall examine a number of attempts to deal with the question directly, and as we do so we shall see that none of them is entirely adequate; secondly, we shall propose an alternative explanation built around the idea of 'institutionalization', a concept which has grown out of modern discussions of 'Church-sect' relationships; thirdly, we shall endeavour to show that this concept is applicable to the pre-Nicene Church in spite of the fact that it was developed out of studies of modern religious groups, and finally, we shall look into the causes of the process of institutionalization, and it will be argued that they are the causes of the decline of the charismata in the Church before 320 A.D.

6

Attempts to Explain the Decline of the Charismata

In trying to account for the eventual waning of the charismatic experience of the pre-Nicene Church, one can approach the question negatively and say that, in general, this occurrence was not due to official, public propaganda against the charismata.[1] Of course it is fact that Montanism was officially and strongly attacked. Eusebius records that in Asia Minor many synods were called to deal with the problem,[2] that an attempt was made to exorcise the evil spirit which the Church thought controlled Maximilla,[3] and that

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[1]For a list of Mediaeval commentaries which discuss Biblical passages relevant to a study of the charismata see pp. 462-466 below. None of these make negative comments about the charismata. Included in the list are the canons of several synods which could have dealt with the charismata, but did not.

[2]Eusebius, Historia Ecclesiastica, 5, 16:9 and 10, Trans. K. Lake (LCL)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1926), I. 476.

[3]Eusebius, H.E. 5, 16:16 and 17; I, 478 and 480.

several bishops put their signatures on a document condemning Montanism.[1] However, it is also fact that within 60 years[2] of these condemnations and in the same region, Asia Minor, prophecy broke out again.[3] This strongest recorded case of official opposition to a form of charismata does not seem to have been finally successful. In addition to the campaign launched against Montanism, there is one passage in the gnostic Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha which H.-Ch. Puech suggests may reflect a reaction against prophecy.[4] It is:

> Then (τότε) I asked Him
> "Lord, how will we be able to
> prophesy (προφητεύειν) to those who ask (αἰτοῦσιν)

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[1]Eusebius, H.E., 5, 19:1 - 4; I, 492 and 494.

[2]The present writer favours a late date of 172-177 A.D. for the outbreak of Montanism (See p. 196-208 above.), and the date of the incident referred to in Firmilian's letter is to be placed c. 234 A.D. (See p. 348f. above.)

[3]Firmilian, Cypriani Epistulae, 75, 10, Ed. G. Hartel (CSEL, III, 2)(Vindobon: C. Geroldi, 1871), p. 816f.

[4]H.-Ch. Puech, Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha, Eds. M. Malinine, H.-Ch. Puech, G. Quispel, W. Till, R. Kasser, aided by R.McL. Wilson, and J. Zandee (Zurich and Stuttgart: Rascher, 1968), p. 55. Puech does not present arguments in support of his suggestion.

us to prophesy (προφητεύειν)
to them? For (γάρ) many are those who ask (αἰτεῖν)
us and are expecting
of us to hear a word (λόγος)
from us." The Lord
answered (and) said "Do you not
know that they have hewn off the head
of prophecy (προφητείας) with John?
And (δέ) I said, "Lord,
is it then (μήτι) possible to take away
the head of prophecy (προφητείας)?"
The Lord said to me, "When (ὅταν) you
know what is 'head' and
that prophecy (προφητείας) proceeds from the
head, understand (νοεῖν) what is, 'they took away
its head.'[1]

This passage might be interpreted to mean that prophecy had come to an end with John. Coptic has no passive, and the third person plural is used as a substitute.[2] Consequently, the statement in line 10f.-- "...they have hewn off the head of prophecy with John"-- could mean 'the head of prophecy was hewn off with John'. In other words, prophecy ended with John the Baptist.[3] These are the only two instances in which manifestations of the charismata are called into question by the

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[1] Epistula Iacobi Apocrypha, 6. 21-7. 1.

[2] W.C. Till, Koptische Grammatik (Leipzig: O. Harrassowitz, 1966³), sec. 326.

[3] I am indebted to Professor R.McL. Wilson for this possible interpretation.

Christian community itself,[1] and only the first is from orthodox circles.

If the decline of the charismata cannot be explained in terms of active opposition against them, then how can it be explained? This question has been answered in several ways. First of all, I.Salomies puts forward the possibility that the spiritual gifts disappeared as a result of their own nature.[2] He argues that as time elapses, of their own accord, the charismata calm down and become less volatile, and in the process lose their usefulness. Those that do retain some value gradually move in an "a-religious" direction. He points to the gift of healing as an example of this trend, saying that it eventually became a sort of magic.

The problem with this explanation is that Salomies

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[1]Celsus, of course, makes disparaging remarks about prophets whom he had met--Origen, Contra Celsum, 7, 8, Ed. P. Koetschau, (GCS, 4)(Leipzig: J.C. Hindrich'sche, 1899), p. 160.

[2]I.Salomies, Henkilahjat Kirkossa sen Alkuvuosisatoina (Helsinki, 1937), p. 99f. I wish to thank (Mrs.) S.R. Upton for providing translations of the Finnish text of the parts of this book which I used.

has to indulge in oversimplification in order to arrive at it. There is no consideration given to forces external to the charismata which may have been influential in their decline.

Another explanation which has been offered for the disappearance of the charismata is the growth in ecclesiastical structure which the Church experienced in the first two centuries of her life. G. van der Leeuw makes some comments which are relevant here. He asserts that religious movements are based upon the religious experiences of their founders,[1] and to a large extent this seems admissible. Christianity for example, is founded on Christ, and it grew out of the experiences he had during his baptism, temptation, transfiguration, and testing in the garden of Gethsemane.[2] Van der Leeuw also says that every genuine religious experience is a foundation, and then he continues,

> As has just been observed, then, there are infinitely many founders; and it is characteristic

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[1] G. van der Leeuw, Religion in Essence and Manifestation, Trans. J.E. Turner (London: G. Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1938), p. 651.

[2] van der Leeuw, p. 653.

> of any given religion that either this plurality is recognized, or else it is attempted to abolish it.[1]

This statement serves to crystallize the situation which confronted the primitive Church. The main branch of the Church--a very, very loose association of widely dispersed and independently developing congregations--knew that it had grown from a common experience, but it began to notice on its fringes, and indeed in its midst, new groupings centring around different experiences and traditions. It then chose not to recognize these new groups and protective regulations began to appear in various places.[2] These regulations were then enforced by the local officials of the various congregations.[3] This added responsibility, in company with other factors,[4] led to an increase

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[1]van der Leeuw, p. 651.

[2]See 1 John 4:1-3; Didache, 11; The Shepherd of Hermas, 43:1-21.

[3]K. Lake, 'The Shepherd of Hermas and Christian Life in Rome in the Second Century,' HThR 4(1911)25-46.

[4]For discussions of the development of the ecclesiastical hierarchy see H. von Campenhausen,

of the authority of the local officials. H. Weinel states that an integral part of this localization of power in the hands of elected officials was the theoretical ceding of the charismata to them.[1] G. La Piana states that this rise of the hierarchy was what saved the Church from sinking into oblivion or a magical limbo.[2] While this may be the case, Weinel

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Ecclesiastical Authority And Spiritual Power in the Church of the First Three Centuries, Trans. J.A. Baker (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1969); F.E. Vokes, 'Montanism and the Ministry,' Studia Patristica 9, 3(1966)306-315; J.B, Lightfoot, 'The Christian Ministry,' St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians (London and Cambridge: MacMillan and Co., 1869[2]; G. Dix, 'The Ministry in the Early Church,' The Apostolic Ministry, Director K.E, Kirk (London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1948); E.J. Palmer, 'A New Approach to an Old Problem: The Development of the Christian Ministry, 'The Ministry and the Sacraments, Ed. R Dunkerley (London: SCM, 1937), and J. Brosch, Charismen und Ämter in der Urkirche (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1951).

[1]H. Weinel, Die wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostolischen zeitalter bis auf Irenäus (Freiburg: J.C.B. Mohr(Paul Siebeck), 1899), p. 68 This work was to have been a study in four parts (p. VIII), but parts 3 and 4 were never published. The third part was to have dealt with the struggle Weinel saw between the charismatic and hierarchical branches of the Church until the time of Irenaeus.

[2]G. La Piana, 'Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Centuries of the Empire,' HThR 20(1927)40f.

asserts that it meant the final suppression of the charismata.[1] von Campenhausen agrees with Weinel saying,

> The course of ecclesiastical development finally led everywhere to a strengthening and ever more marked preponderance of the official element and of its exclusive authority, in the face of which the spiritual life of the congregation shrivelled up and lost its radical significance.[2]

This suggestion that it was the elaboration of ecclesiastical structure which brought about the decline of the charismata is vulnerable to attack from several directions. K. Rahner insists that the Church has never stopped being charismatic, that ecclesiastical office is itself charismatic, and therefore, that ecclesiastical office would not have been in conflict with those manifesting the more demonstrative charismata.[3] It must be noted that Rahner defines 'charismatic' in the widest possible sense, including in it everything which is to be attributed to a gracious act of Christ,

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[1] Weinel, p. 68.

[2] von Campenhausen, p. 297.

[3] K. Rahner, 'The Charismatic Element in the Church,' The Dynamic Element in the Church, Trans. W.J. O'Hara (Freiburg: Herder, 1964), p. 44ff.

and in doing so he is technically correct. However, within the confines of this study and in the arguments of those who point to an adverse effect the development of ecclesiastical office had upon the charismata, 'charismatic' is used to refer to a particular type of religions experience: overt pneumatic experience.[1] Therefore, while Rahner's comments may be correct, given his definitions, they are not of crucial importance in the present discussion.

The alleged adverse effect of ecclesiastical structure in the pre-Nicene Church upon the charismata has also been questioned by F.E. Vokes. He argues that there is no incompatibility between the charismata and church structure, basing this argument on the fact that the prophetic Montanist movement also had a full-blown ministry, which apparently it had taken over from the Catholic Church of the time and then further developed.[2] While this does count against the suggestion that growth of ecclesiastical structure in the Early

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[1]See p. 4ff. above.

[2]Vokes, p. 308.

Church resulted in a decline of the charismata, it is not conclusive. One must ask how long prophecy and an organized ministry co-existed in Montanism. The sparsity of sources for a study of Montanism prevents our answering this question. It cannot be determined conclusively if prophecy and the hierarchical structure were both to be found in Montanism for an extended period or if the latter brought about a decline of the former relatively quickly.

However, there is another consideration which recommends caution in accepting the suggestion that the eventual loss of charismatic experience in the pre-Nicene Church was due to the elaboration of ecclesiastical structure. Cyprian and Dionysius of Alexandria, two churchmen of the mid-third century who as bishops stood at the apex of the ecclesiastical structure in their respective areas, both personally experienced the charismata.[1] Their office did not prevent them from becoming charismatics.

M. Goguel sees the genesis of the diminution of

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[1]See pp. 295-299 and 308f. above.

the importance of the charismata as lying in another direction--Pauline influence. Goguel suggests that although Paul himself was a charismatic and espoused a strong eschatological position he presented, quite unknown to himself, a pneumatology and an eschatology which eventually undercut both the charismata and the belief in an imminent Parousia.[1] Goguel asserts that the heart of the Pauline position which touched off these changes was his emphasis upon the spiritual life of the individual in his contemporary world. The essential activity of the Holy Spirit was not the operation of the charismata, but the creation and overseeing of the believer's new life. The Kingdom of God and the heavenly life were no longer attendant upon the Parousia, but were realities in the earthly lives of individual believers. The charismata and a solely futuristic eschatology were thus devaluated, arousing an attitude towards them which led ultimately to their disappearance.

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[1]M. Goguel, La naissance du Christianisme (Paris: Payot, 1946), p. 308. (ET, The Birth of Christianity, Trans. H.C. Snape (London:George Allen & Unwin, 1953).)

In this study we are primarily concerned with the charismata, so we shall lay aside Goguel's comments on the effect of Pauline eschatology and focus upon his discussion of Paul's pneumatology.

Goguel is correct in saying that the main role of the Spirit in Paul's writings does not have to do with the charismata but with the spiritual lives of individual Christians. However, it is questionable whether or not this emphasis would have had the effect Goguel suggests. Paul's emphasis upon the Spirit as the guardian and developer of Christians' individual spiritual lives must be balanced against the fact that Paul thought the charismata were an important part of the Church's life. In 1 Cor. 12-14 and 1 Thess. 5:19 and 20, Paul stresses their importance, gives a criterion for evaluating them, lays down regulations to govern their operation, and attempts to prevent their perversion.[1] Paul made his position with reference to the charismata very clear, and his position was distinctly positive.

A fourth explanation of the eventual cessation of

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[1]See pp. 86-91 above.

charismatic activity in the pre-Nicene Church claims that the decline in importance of the charismata and the decline of eschatological expectation were not only parallel phenomena, but that the latter caused the former. K. Lake argues that the prophet in the primitive Church got his importance as a result of the Messianic expectations of Christian communities.[1] However, as the hope of the Parousia was dimmed by the passage of time, the prophets' position became increasingly less secure. The appearance of false prophets served to accelerate the transfer of authority from charismatics to locally elected officials.

The Gordian knot of this explanation is this: which of the two facts (assuming there is a causal connection) --the decline in charismatic activity and the loss of eschatological expectation--is cause and which is effect? It can be argued just as plausibly that a slackening of prophetic activity resulted in a dimming of eschatological hope as it can be argued that the reverse is true, as Lake does. The prophet's message

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[1]Lake, p. 37ff.

often had an eschatological orientation, exhorting people to prepare for the End.[1] The prophet often served to keep the imminent consummation of all things before the minds of the people. It is conceivable that when the prophet's voices were stilled and eschatology lost its chief proponents, it consequently declined in importance in the thinking of most Christians.

Various explanations for the decline of the importance of the charismata in the Early Church have now been examined, and it has been seen that none is completely satisfying. They are all marred by the failure to consider all the evidence or by susceptibility to counter-proposals. In addition to this, they all share a common weakness: there is no way in which the validity of any one of them can be objectively proven. Whether one chooses one of the explanations as being the explanation for the decline of the charismata, or whether one regards them all as contributing causes and then arranges the causes in a scale of descending importance, one's actions will rest upon an inclination

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[1]See p. 201 and p. 229f.

or an interest which predisposes him to accept the analysis of a particular historian.[1] And it is impossible to establish that any particular explanation or scale is absolute and to be preferred ahead of others. Perhaps the discussion should be terminated here, but I think it can be furthered by shifting it onto a different footing.

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[1]See M. White, Foundations of Historical Knowledge (New York and London: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 125 ff.

An Alternative Explanation: Institutionalization

I suggest that a more adequate understanding of the decline of the charismata in the pre-Nicene Church can be gained by giving careful attention to a process called 'institutionalization',[1] This will place the study on a different footing because the concept of institutionalization has been developed comparatively recently by sociologists who have been working with objective data. Consequently, the nature of institutionalization and the inclusion of any particular feature or features within it can be checked by consulting the data upon which the particular sociologists drew. We shall now examine the discussion out of which this concept arose and the concept itself. Of course, the question which is crucial for my proposal is:

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[1]This somewhat intimidating term comes from H. Richard Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1937), p. 167. The same process has been called 'routinization' (Veralltäglichung) by M. Weber (The Sociology of Religion, Trans. E. Fischoff, Introduction by T. Parson (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1963), p. 61.)

are concepts and ideas arising out of modern sociological studies applicable to the pre-Nicene Church? This question shall be the subject of the following chapter.[1]

The concept of institutionalization arose from attempts to distinguish among religious bodies. In his The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Max Weber drew a distinction between 'Church' on one hand and 'sect' on the other.[2] This was seen to be a useful distinction, and E. Troeltsch picked it up and developed it further. He thought that the church and the sect were religious groups which were static at opposite ends of a scale. He says,

> In reality, the sects are essentially different from the Church and the churches. The word "sect", however does not mean that these movements are undeveloped expressions of the Church-type; it stands for an independent sociological type of Christian thought.[3]

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[1]See pp. 413-429 below.

[2]Trans., T. Parsons (New York:Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), pp. 145, 152, and 254 n. 173.

[3]E. Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, Trans. O. Wyon (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1931), I, 339. Later in his work (II, 806) Troeltsch does acknowledge that sects can change, but does not say that they become churches.

Just how different Troeltsch thought church and sect were becomes evident when we observe how he described them. He regarded a sect as a small group aspiring after personal inward perfection, and aiming at direct personal fellowship between members. He saw it as connected with the lower classes, or at least with elements in society opposed to the state and society, and as referring members directly to the religious aim of life, with asceticism being developed as a means of union with God.[1] On the other hand, Troeltsch viewed a church as being conservative, accepting the secular order to some degree, dominating the masses, and as being universal, desiring to cover the whole of humanity. He said that the church uses the State and ruling classes and in doing so becomes integrally connected with these elements and, therefore, a part of the existing social order. It regards the whole secular order as preparation for the spiritual aim of life, and sees asceticism as a part of this preparation.[2]

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[1]Troeltsch, I, 331.

[2]Troeltsch, I, 331.

In America, H. Richard Niebuhr adopted this analysis featuring a dichotomy between church and sect and modified it.[1] Niebuhr thought that the relationship between churches and sects was dynamic rather than static: sects become churches, and the process by which they do so is institutionalization.

This analysis which had been carried on by Weber, Troeltsch, Niebuhr, and others who followed them has come under fire from B. Johnson,[2] P. Gustafson,[3] and E. Goode,[4] and it is proper that it should have,

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[1] The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929). See also The Kingdom of God in America by the same author.

[2] B. Johnson, 'A Critical Appraisal of the Church-Sect Typology,' American Sociological Review 22(1957) 88-92. Johnson charges that Niebuhr's analysis deals only with features of the various groups which are derived from more basic beliefs. He argues that to analyze a group properly, one must focus on what is most basic to it.

[3] P. Gustafson, 'UO-US-PS-PO: A restatement of Troeltsch's Church-Sect Typology,' JSSRel 6(1967)64-68. Gustafson attempts to clarify the church-sect typology developed by Troeltsch.

[4] E. Goode, 'Some Critical Observations on the Church-Sect Dimension,' JSSRel 6(1967)69-77. Goode discusses several aspects of the Church-sect dimension attempting to show that, in fact, each contributes to a misunderstanding of religious groupings.

because the earlier formulations contained much that required criticism. However, the idea that churches and sects are somehow distinguishable from each other is still a live one and, refined by the proper qualifications, can still be useful in the discussion of religious groups.

Here the work of N.J. Demerath is important. First, he provides good comparative descriptions of the church and the sect, taking into consideration both internal and external factors. His descriptions are worth reproducing.

> Internally, the church has a professional leadership, a relatively impersonal fellowship, and lax criteria for membership. It stresses the sacraments and ritualistic religion. In sharp contrast, the sect's leadership is charismatic and non-professional. Its founder is typically a religious eccentric in the eyes of the church, and his successors in authority are drawn from the ranks of the congregation. Further, the sect's membership standards are stringent and include conversion and signs of salvation. The fellowship is an exclusive moral community charged with intimacy. Spontaneity replaces ritual; personal testimony is valued more highly than any sacrament.[1]

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[1] N.J. Demerath, Social Class in American Protestantism (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965), p. 37. While this part of Demerath's description is valuable, it seems

> Externally, the church accommodates the secular order. Its posture is one of adaptive compromise, and this leads to organizational stability and a large following. But a compromise carries its own imperatives. Traditional doctrine is de-emphasized if it is apt to breed conflict with secular values. The church must be willing to share its adherents with a number of secular institutions. Again in contrast, the sect is either aloof or antagonistic toward the secular society. Animated by a distinctive doctrine, the sect is unwilling and unable to capitulate. Its members have only secondary allegiances to secular groups and their contaminating ideologies.[1]

Elsewhere, Demerath adds to this. He points out that people with a higher socio-economic status are usually associated with churches while people on a lower socio-economic plane are usually associated with sects.[2] In this, Demerath is corroborating the findings

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to suffer to some degree from a difficulty latent in the attempt to define a sect. Bryn Wilson (Religious Sects (London: World University Library, 1970), p. 23) points out that if such descriptions are not based on research which has taken into consideration a sufficiently wide range of sects one or other element in them may be stated too concretely. Demerath says 'conversion' and 'signs of salvation' are necessary for one to be a member of a sect, but in fact this is not the case: if 'conversion' is meant in the usual sense of a more or less emotional 'heart-experience' (See Wilson, Religious Sects, p. 43 where he states that 'revolutionist' sects do not emphasize this.).

[1]Demerath, p. 38.

[2]Demerath, p. 39ff.

of an earlier study by R.R. Dynes, who concludes,

> The relationship between Church-Sect scores and these three indices of socio-economic status indicate, as hypothesized, that Churchness is associated with high socio-economic status and, conversely, that Sectness is associated with low socio-economic status.[1]

Therefore, we have another means by which to distinguish a sect from a church: a sect is composed primarily (but not exclusively) of people from a lower socio-economic plane, while the reverse is true of a church.

The work of Dynes and Demerath also reveals another factor which differs between churches and sects: the church tends to attract people who are more highly educated with the opposite applying to the sect.[2]

From this it is seen that Demerath continues to accept the church-sect dichotomy. However, he does

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[1] R.R. Dynes, 'The Consequences of Sectarianism for Social Participation,' Social Forces 25(1957)334. On this same point Owen Chadwick says (The Victorian Church, Pt. II,(An Ecclesiastical History of England, Ed. J.C. Dickinson, 8)(London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970), p. 274. that in Victorian England, "If the working man practiced Christianity he often belonged to the Primitive Methodists or to one of the congregations of extreme independents."

[2] Dynes, 'Church-Sect Typology,' p. 558, and Demerath, p. 84.

not accept this dichotomy in the Troeltschian or Niebuhrian forms. Demerath emphasizes that Church and Sect are not mutually exclusive absolutes. On the contrary, his work demonstrates that it is reasonable to assume that virtually all Christian religious bodies have both churchlike and sectlike characteristics.[1] Demerath seems to envisage a scale on one end of which is the absolute ideal of a church and on the other, the absolute ideal of a sect. Between these are ranged the real Christian religious bodies, with their places on the scale being determined by the proportion of church to sect characteristics by which they are marked: the more church characteristics they have, the closer they will be to the church end of the scale; the more sect characteristics they have, the closer they will be to the sect end of the scale. Demerath even provides a simple principle, in addition to the descriptions

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[1]Demerath, p. 178ff. E.A. Isichei's study of the Quakers ('From Sect to Denomination in English Quakerism, with Special Reference to the Nineteenth Century,' British Journal of Sociology 15(1964)220) supports this. J.H. Chamberlayne ('From Sect to Church in British Methodism,' British Journal of Sociology 15(1964)142 and 146) makes similar observations about Methodism.

cited above, by which churchness and sectness can be established: status heterogeneity.[1] A sect tends to be more homogeneous with reference to socio-economic status of its members than does a church.

Demerath's work shows that the church-sect dichotomy continues to be useful after some of the earlier crudity is removed.

However, for some others the breakdown of religious groups into sects and churches does not adequately express the complexity of the religious spectrum. W. Stark replaces the church-sect dichotomy with a three term categorization featuring Universal Churches, Denominations, and Sects,[2] and B.R. Wilson had earlier made the same distinctions.[3]

Wilson also leads us closer to reality by insisting upon distinguishing among sects and by providing a criterion by which to do it. It would seem that one can draw distinctions among religious bodies which

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[1]Demerath, p. 188.

[2]W. Stark, The Sociology of Religion (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967), 3 vols.

[3]B.R. Wilson, Religion in Secular Society (London: C.A. Watts & Co. Ltd., 1966), p. 215ff.

are clustered towards the sect end of the scale, and Wilson asserts that one can do it by making reference to their broad response to the wider society.[1] This response takes in the sect's theology, organization, social ethics, and practice. Because this criterion rests on such a broad base, it is useful in distinguishing among sects.

Having applied this criterion to religious bodies which he regards as sects, Wilson observes that there are four principal responses made by sects in western society. In other words, there are four main types of sects. These are: (1) Conversionist, which seeks to alter men and the world by means of evangelism; (2) Revolutionist, which predicts a dramatic change for the world and seeks to prepare for the new dispensation; (3)Introversionist, which rejects the world's values and replaces them with higher ones, and (4) Manipulationist.[2] Wilson's continuing research has led him to add three more

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[1]Wilson, Religion in Secular Society, p. 195.

[2]Wilson, Religion in Secular Society, p. 196f. This categorization features a change in titles. In an earlier publication, Wilson had called the revolutionist

types of sects to this categorization. They are: Thaumaturgical, Reformist, and Utopian.[1] He goes on to say that these last three types are much less common and less consequential than the first four.[2]

While discussing religious groupings and calling upon such distinctions as have been mentioned above, many sociologists[3] have noted a process of development which occurs in certain sects. It involves a sect's becoming more like a church (or a denomination), or acquiring an increasing number of churchlike characteristics: a professional ministry develops, fellow-

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sect 'adventist' and the manipulationist sect 'gnostic' ('An Analysis of Sect Development,' American Sociological Review 24(1959)3-15) The change in terminology is a happy one because it precludes confusing a type of modern sect with second century Gnosticism.

[1]Wilson, Religious Sects, p. 38ff.

[2]Wilson, Religious Sects, p. 167.

[3]See Weber, The Sociology of Religion, Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America, L.Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), B.R. Wilson, Sects and Society (London: William Heinemann Ltd.), 1961, J.M. Yinger, Sociology Looks at Religion (London: Collier-MacMillan Limited, 1961) pp. 53-55, and W. Stark, Sectarian Religion , (The Sociology of Religion, 2)(London and Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967.

ship becomes more impersonal, the sacraments are stressed, worship becomes less spontaneous and charismatic manifestations (if the group was characterized by such) are regulated, the educational level of the membership rises, the membership's economic status improves, and the moral standards of society are accepted. This process of development can be called institutionalization.

According to J.H. Chamberlayne, this development may be observed in the history of Methodism. Chamberlayne points out that in the 1740's, Methodism closely approximated the sect-type, emphasizing the need for personal salvation, relying upon a largely lay leadership, stressing separation from society, and drawing most of its members from the lower middle classes and the working class.[1] However, by 1930 this situation had changed. Chamberlayne shows that by this later date, the Methodists had a recognized place in society with chaplains in the armed services and representatives on

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[1]Chamberlayne, p. pp. 142ff.

national commissions.[1] As a group it was no longer one which was alienated from society and seeking to protect its members from outside influence. In fact, the status of individual Methodists was significantly different from that of their earlier brethren. Chamberlayne says,

> ..., the poverty of the early Methodists had been replaced by a community of wealth and substance, whose members had prospered and become more mobile and more willing to accept the folk-ways and mores of the larger society of the nation.[2]

In addition to this Chamberlayne points out that by 1930 the Methodists had organized church-type theological colleges,[3] and were attempting to reach segments of society which they could never have touched earlier.[4] Finally Chamberlayne says,

> Thus Methodism had become structured as a church-type - which in fact was in part recognized by the use of the term 'church' in place of the term 'society', by the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1891. It came also to be recognized clearly in law, as the union of the three bodies took

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[1] Chamberlayne, p. 145.

[2] Chamberlayne, p. 146.

[3] Chamberlayne, p. 146.

[4] Chamberlayne, p. 147.

place under the Methodist Church Union Act of 1929.[1]

From this it is seen that the history of Methodism illustrates the process of institutionalization rather well.

It must be emphasized that this is not an automatic, mechanical process. Only certain sects have experienced it and with nothing like complete uniformity. Stark argues that as time passes a sect may go in one of three directions: it may simply disintegrate; it may emigrate, either mentally or actually, or it may stay and eventually hammer out a modus vivendi acceptable to all parties.[2] B.R. Wilson's work has led him to similar conclusions. He asserts strongly that all sects do not lose their original sectarianism, and he points to certain revolutionist and introversionist sects which serve as proof.[3] In fact, Wilson finds sects which have been thus metamorphosed primarily in one grouping. He says,

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[1] Chamberlayne, p. 147.

[2] Stark, p. 240.

[3] Wilson, Religious Sects, pp. 236-240.

> The sects that were denominationalized, that moved from a position of protest and separation to one of general cultural conformity and whose members lost that distinctive religious identity which characterizes a sect, were not, however, a cross sample of all types of sect. They were conspicuously the conversionist sect.[1]

It would appear that these sociological discussions and the concepts around which they have revolved --church, sect, and institutionalization--may be capable of providing a more adequate explanation for the decline of the charismata in the pre-Nicene Church. If the Early Church could be thought of as experiencing institutionalization, then the decline of the charismata could be regarded as a part of that process. It remains to be seen if these modern sociological concepts are applicable to the Early Church.

8

The Applicability of Modern Sociological Analyses to the Pre-Nicene Church

The problem with which one is faced when he attempts to apply the insights of modern sociology to the Early Church is one of differing historical periods. Most of the studies from which the concepts of church, sect, and institutionalization were drawn were concerned with religious movements dating no earlier than the late Middle Ages: in fact most of the movements examined date from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. One does not need to look far for the explanation of this fact: earlier than the Middle Ages, source material is too rare for the sociologist to feel comfortable. The question which must be grappled with is: can ideas which were developed primarily in relation to nineteenth and twentieth century religious movements be applied to the Church of the first two centuries of our era? It would seem that whether or not the modern analyses

and their concepts can be used depends upon whether or not their application renders the historical facts more intelligible. Do the data regarding the pre-Nicene Church show signs of the process of institutionalization?[1] As the evidence is reviewed, it must be born in mind that the mosaic which is being formed is being made up of relatively scattered bits of information. It would be wrong to leave the impression that it is being assumed that the whole of the pre-Nicene Church in all geographical areas developed in the same way at the same pace.

We shall turn our attention first to ecclesiastical structure, and here there is unquestionable evidence for a movement from the simple to the complex in the Early Christian Church. In the NT, the Church has only a very loose framework. Paul laid supreme emphasis upon the Spirit, but gradually a system of elders

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[1]The fact that the Early Church was not taken into consideration in the analyses from which the relevant concepts were drawn prevents the discussion from falling into circularity. If the analyses fit, it will not be because they were developed out of a study of the Early Church.

began to evolve.[1] When we come to the Didache, we see a further development: influential, locally-elected officials now loom large in the congregation.[2] The itinerant apostles, prophets, and teachers still are important figures in the various communities, but local men are now ranked alongside them and in their absence perform their functions. This is a noteworthy development in ecclesiastical structure.

With Ignatius of Antioch, a new stage in the evolution of ecclesiastical hierarchy is reached: the importance of the bishop is a motif which runs throughout his letters.[3] The monarchical episcopate was probably a recent development at Antioch in Ignatius' time,[4] perhaps he himself was the first to hold such authority, but it is early evidence for the elaboration of structure in the Early Church.

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[1]See von Campenhausen's important work, Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power, p. 76ff.

[2]Didache 15:1 and 2.

[3]See Philadelphians 2 & 3, Smyrnaeans 8, and Magnesians 6.

[4]See p. 157 n.1.

The evidence shows that as the years passed organization in the Church grew stronger and stronger: in his struggles with the Gnostics, Irenaeus places emphasis upon a succession-list of bishops;[1] the Apostolic Tradition written by Hippolytus contains regulations governing every level of clerical office; the life of Cyprian illustrates the power and influence which had become attached to the bishop's chair in North Africa by the middle of the third century, and the Canons of the early fourth century councils show that at that time the Church was carefully controlling the lives of its members, lay and clerical alike, through assemblies of its leaders.[2]

This brief survey shows that during the first two centuries of its life the Church evolved a complicated and extremely powerful ecclesiastical organization.

Next we shall look at socio-economic status; here

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[1] Irenaeus, Adv. haer., 3,3.

[2] See A History of the Christian Councils, Ed. C.J. Hefele, Trans. W.R. Clark (Edinburgh:T. & T. Clark, 1872[2]).

again there is evidence of a development. The primitive Christian community was composed primarily of the poor, a fact which is reflected in Paul's words in 1 Cor. 1:26 - "For consider your call, brethren, that there were not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble;" There is also another passage which is relevant here. In 1 Cor. 7:20-24, Paul says,

> Let each man remain in that condition in which he was called.
> Were you called while a slave? Do not worry about it; but if you are able also to become free, rather do that.
> For he who was called in the Lord while a slave, is the Lord's freedman; likewise he who was called while free, is Christ's slave.
> You were bought with a price; do not become slaves of men.
> Brethren,let each man remain with God in that condition in which he was called.

In spite of the presence of land- owners like Barnabas and Ananias among the early Christians, it can be said that the primitive Church drew most of its members from the lower socio-economic strata.

This condition seems to have changed rather markedly, at least at Rome, by the late first century. There is evidence that by this time the Church in this city had penetrated the ranks of the patricians. First,

Clement of Rome refers to two men, Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, who were emissaries of his church to the church in Corinth.[1] J. Weiss argues on the basis of the names 'Claudius' and 'Valerius' that these were freedmen of two patrician houses.[2] Secondly, Flavius Clemens, a consul and a cousin of the emperor Domitian, and his wife, Flavia Domitilla, were convicted of "atheism," a charge laid against people who had drifted into "Jewish ways".[3] This could be interpreted to mean that they were either Jews or Christians, but there are factors which tip the balance in the direction of the latter: the charge of 'atheism' is levelled at Christians elsewhere,[4] and the Jews'

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[1] 1 Clement, 59.

[2] J. Weiss, The History of Primitive Christianity, Completed by R. Knopf, Ed. F.C. Grant (London: MacMillan and Co. Limited, 1937), II, 845.

[3] Cassius Dio, Roman History, 67, 14, Trans. E. Cary (LCL)(London: William Heinemann, 1924), VIII, 139.

[4] See The Martyrdom of Polycarp, 9:2, Justin, 1 Apology, 5 and 6,(ANF, 1), p. 164, Athenagoras, A Plea for the Christians, 3 and 4, (ANF, 2), p. 130f., and Clement, Stromata, (ANF, 2), p. 523f.

position as members of a religio licita would have precluded the charge of atheism's being laid against them.[1] Flavius Clemens and his wife were probably Christians. Further evidence for the influence which Roman Christians seem to have been able to exert on society c. 100 A.D. is to be found in Ignatius' letter to them, written on his way to martyrdom. He appealed to them not to interfere with his pending execution,[2] an appeal which would have been quite vacuous if the church in Rome had not been able to exert pressure upon the authorities. It is quite clear that by the end of the first century at least some of the members

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[1] See L.W. Barnard, 'St. Clement and the Persecution of Domitian,' Studies in the Apostolic Fathers and Their Backgrounds (New York: Schocken Books, 1966), p. 13f. In the past, the inscription SEPULCRUM FLAVIORUM which is found on a crypt at the centre of the cemetery of Domitilla has been thought to further attest to the fact that these people were Christians (See C.H. Dodd, 'The History of Christianity from the Death of St. Paul to the Reign of Constantine,' The History of Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge (London: Blackie & Son, 1929), p. 430). However, more recent research has shown that this is not the case (See K. Baus, From the Apostolic Community to Constantine (Handbook of Church History, Ed. H. Jedin and J. Dolan, 1)(Freiburg and Montreal: Herder and Palm Publishers, 1965), p. 132).

[2] Ignatius, Romans 1:1-2:2.

of the Roman church occupied high positions on the social ladder.

The writings of Origen reveal that by the first half of the third century some Christians at the eastern end of the Mediterranean also had risen socially and become men of means. Origen complains in one place that during services some Christians stood at the back of the church and discussed secular affairs.[1] In another place, he bewails the fact that even while God's Word is being explained some are thinking about business matters, world affairs, financial calculations, and household concerns.[2] These words show that upwards socio-economic mobility among Christians was not confined to the West.

Once again, as in the case of ecclesiastical structure, the life of the great Carthaginian bishop Cyprian exemplifies the rise in socio-economic status which the Church experienced. Cyprian is the source of much of Roman Catholicism's ecclesiastical thought;

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[1] Origen, Hom. Ex., 12, 2.

[2] Origen, Hom. Ex., 13, 3.

he was a charismatic, and died as a martyr, but he was also-- before and after his conversion-- a member of the propertied class. On two occasions it is stated that he was able to give monetary aid to destitute people, and some of this money came from the sale of lands.[1]

Eusebius of Caesarea also provides evidence which shows strikingly that the socio-economic conditions in the Church at the beginning of the fourth-century were far removed from those endured by the primitive Christian communities. Eusebius tells us that just prior to the persecution of Diocletian, Christians were being looked upon with favour in official circles: Christians were being appointed to govern provinces and were being willingly tolerated in the homes of high officials.[2] Eusebius also gives us some indication of the wealth of the Church by making reference to the building of spacious churches

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[1]Pontius, The Life and Passion of Cyprian, Bishop and Martyr, 2, and Cyprian, Epistula, 7.

[2]Eusebius, H.E., 6, 1:2 & 3, Trans. J.E.L. Oulton (LCL)(London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1932)

in all cities.[1] There can be little doubt that as the Church grew older, its members grew richer and more influential in society.

The level of academic achievement among Christians also shows a change over the two centuries prior to the Council of Nicaea. The educational backgrounds of the members of the NT Church, with some notable exceptions, eg., Paul, were inauspicious; by the middle of the second century this picture had changed considerably. By this time, the thought-life of the Church was being dominated by the Greek Apologists; men like Justin, who had sampled all the major philosophical schools of his day,[2] Tatian, the brilliant Syrian, and Athenagoras, who writes in a very good Greek style. All of these tried to explain Christianity to their peers.

By c. 200, Christianity had gained another intellectual giant in the person of Tertullian, the fiery North African. Tertullian was well-acquainted with classical thought and had received a thorough

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[1] Eusebius, H.E., 6, 1:5; II, 253.

[2] See p. 312 above.

training in law--as his De praescriptione clearly shows. Some of his theological definitions show real genius. Lietzmann says, "The speculative problems of the Greeks never gave him a headache, and as a consequence he airily pre-empted the results of centuries of dispute when he spoke of the divine Trinitas--..."[1]

In the first half of the third century there was a great expenditure of intellectual energy among Christians at the eastern end of the Mediterranean too. In fact, what took place here during this period far surpassed in volume and brilliance what was being done anywhere else in the empire at the same time.

The scene was dominated by two men: Clement of Alexandria and Origen. A brief glance at the nature of Clement's writings, at his basic orientation, and at the way in which he grouped Christians will suffice to set his intellectual propensity in high relief. Clement, firstly, wrote in elegant Attic Greek, and aimed his discourses at the wealthy and educated of Alexandrian

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[1]H. Lietzmann, The Founding of the Church Universal, p. 224.

society.[1] Secondly, while he was first and foremost a Christian, Clement was also, throughout his career, a philosopher.[2] He takes a very positive stance towards philosophy, arguing that it was given to the Greeks by God.[3]

In addition to this, Clement draws a distinction among Christians which has intellectual overtones. Charles Bigg points out that in Clement's writings there are two types of Christian life portrayed: the lower, which is the life of the ordinary Christian, and the higher, that of Clement's 'True Gnostic'.[4] Lietzmann suggests that Clement's distinction rests upon the degree of effort the individual Christian chose to put into attaining a higher perfection.[5] It must be added that Clement did not regard these two types of

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[1]Lietzmann, pp. 278 and 286.

[2]Lietzmann, p. 279.

[3]Lietzmann, p. 289.

[4]Charles Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alexandria (The 1886 Bampton Lectures)(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968 (1913)), p. 118.

[5]Lietzmann, p. 291.

Christians as being distinct by nature. On the contrary, one could move from the lower group to the higher one.[1] How then does Clement think one becomes a True Gnostic? Bigg says,

> Moral purity and assiduous study of Scripture are the only training that is absolutely necessary. But Clement well knew the importance of mental cultivation. His Gnostic still reads Plato in his leisure moments.[2]

H. Chadwick says that the True Gnostic is the Christian who tries to comprehend the inward spiritual meaning of Scripture, who wants to advance in prayer from asking for material blessing to asking for moral rectitude, and who desires progress "in spiritual insight and in contemplation."[3] Thus we see Clement holding out to those who will make the effort a superior type of Christian life which requires spiritual desire and intellectual capacity.

As remarkable as were the gifts of Clement, he is forced to stand in the shadow of his successor at the

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[1]Bigg, p. 118.

[2]Bigg, p. 125.

[3]H. Chadwick, Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), p. 53f.

catechetical school in Alexandria: Origen. Origen worked with acumen and excellence in several areas of intellectual endeavour.[1] It is not necessary to review his accomplishments here. However, we shall draw attention to two facts. First,

> ..., Origen was the first to enter into the genuine tradition of the Platonic school, and both his intake and his output fully reflect the Platonic heritage which was alive in his day, and which was of increasing influence.[2]

It cannot be denied that Origen was a careful student of philosophy and that this study had had far-reaching consequences for his theological system.

Secondly, Origen also drew distinctions among Christians.[3] He envisioned them as being ranged on three levels with much effort being required for one to move from one level to another.[4] To a large extent, movement depended upon the individual Christian's intellectual capacity.

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[1]See pp. 360-362 above.

[2]Lietzmann, p. 298.

[3]Lietzmann, p. 312.

[4]See Chadwick, p. 74 and Lietzmann, p. 315.

Thus it is seen that in both East and West as time passed the general intellectual level of the pre-Nicene Church rose. Of course, not all Christians had devoted themselves to academic pursuits,[1] but the fact that 'intellectuals' were drawn to Christianity and found a place in the Church is significant.

During the pre-Nicene period, there was also a metamorphosis in the eschatological thought of the Church. The early generation of Christians lived in the expectation of an imminent Parousia, but with the elapse of time this expectation became increasingly dim.[2]

Finally, as was pointed out in Part II, the charismatic experience of the Church changed during the two centuries prior to the Council of Nicaea. Once the third century had been reached, a decline in the importance of the charismata began which ended

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[1] J. Lebreton, 'Le désaccord de la foi populaire et de la théologie savante dans l'Église chrétienne du III siecle,' RHE 19(1923)481-506 and 20(1924)4-37.

[2] See L.P. Edwards, The Transformation of Early Christianity from an Eschatological to a Socialized Movement (Menasha: George Banta, 1919).

with this type of religious experience dropping from sight c. 260 A.D.

It will be evident from the above survey of Early Church history that there is much in that history which corresponds closely to various concepts which have been developed by sociologists of religion. At its beginning, the Church was almost unstructured, poor, badly educated, eschatologically expectant, and spontaneous in its worship. In other words, it looked very much like a sect such as the sociologists describe. In fact, with the emphasis upon evangelism which characterized it fairly early, it could be regarded as a 'conversionist' sect. By c. 300 A.D. the Christian Church was quite a different religious body. Then it was heavily structured, relatively prosperous, comparatively well-educated, content to settle down in this world, and restrained in its worship. It had acquired many 'churchlike' characteristics. The process by which this happened must have been something like the process of institutionalization which was

outlined above.[1] Therefore, it is seen that certain modern sociological concepts do fit the data regarding the pre-Nicene Church, and that by applying them the data are made more intelligible. The concept of institutionalization does help us to understand the experiences of the Church prior to the Council of Nicaea. We are now in a position to say something more about the causes behind the decline in the importance of the charismata.

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[1] See p. 408f. above.

9

The Causes of Institutionalization

It has been argued above[1] that certain sociological concepts such as 'sect', 'church', and 'institutionalization' can be applied to the pre-Nicene Church and that they are useful in that they help us to understand the experiences of Christians of that period. It has also been maintained that one of the features of the process of institutionalization in the Early Church was the decline of the charismata. If these assertions are acceptable, then we are able to offer an explanation for the decline of the charismata. I propose that any particular feature of this developmental process which took place in the Early Church can be regarded as having been caused by whatever brought about the process as a whole. In other words, the causes for the institutionalization which occurred in the pre-Nicene Church were also the causes for the decline of the charismata.

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[1]See p. 428f.

In the various sociological studies which have been referred to,[1] there are a number of factors which have been presented as bringing about the gradual shift of a religious body from one which is sectlike to one which is churchlike. We shall review several of these and then attempt to determine which, if any, are applicable to the Early Church.

The first cause for the metamorphosis of sects which we shall consider lies in one of the principal responses sects make to the world: the desire to convert sinners to Christ. Of course this is not the basic desire of all sects, but rather is the hallmark of sects which B.R. Wilson calls 'conversionist'.[2]

This passion to convert undermines pure sectarianism in a number of ways.

The desire to win converts promotes the formation of an organized clergy.[3] If the sect's beliefs are going to be published, capable spokesmen will be

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[1] See p. 408 n. 4.

[2] B.R. Wilson, Religion in Secular Society, p. 196.

[3] B.R. Wilson, 'An Analysis of Sect Development,' p. 9.

required. In order to ensure that its spokesmen will be as efficient as possible in carrying out their mission, the sect will have to provide some kind of training. This will result in a group of people better prepared for the task of evangelization than is the average sect member. A team of 'professionals' will be created, and this is a departure from strictly sectarian principles.[1]

Another danger with which the conversionist sect

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[1]One group which has laid great stress upon the proclamation of the 'Good News' and yet which has remained thoroughly sectarian is the Jehovah' Witnesses (See B. R. Wilson, Religious Sects, p. 237). Wilson says that among the Witnesses, "Complete obedience to God's will, and belief in his word, are conditions of immortality, and in effect this means obedience to the movement. Obedience is most fully manifested in loyal attendance at the catechistic sessions held at the local Kingdom Hall, and in doing one's full stint as a 'publisher' of the good news." (Wilson, Religious Sects, p. 114). Individual Witnesses receive careful training before going out'onto the street' with their message (Wilson, Religious Sects, p. 238). It would seem that one of the principal reasons why this training has not precipitated a professional clergy is that among the Jehovah's Witnesses all members of the group are required to receive the training and not just a select few. This must tend to prevent the appearance of a group of 'experts' who far surpass the majority of the members in understanding and proclaiming the message of the sect.

must contend is the fact that the desire to evangelize tends to breed conformity with the society which it wishes to convert. In order to be as effective as possible in its evangelistic efforts, the sect will feel it has to accommodate itself to society, diminishing or sloughing off those of its characteristics which are most offensive to the outside world.[1] Of course, this is not done without causing tension to arise within the sect.[2] As a sect, the group wishes to keep itself apart from the world, but if it wishes to evangelize, it must move into that world and meet men there. In conversionist sects, the desire to convert is given precedence over the desire to be separate, and thus the dilemma is broken, but in a way which is detrimental to the survival of the sect qua sect.

There is a third way in which the fundamental goals of the conversionist sect militate against its persisting as a sect. If it is successful in its attempts at evangelism, it will have

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[1] Pope, p. 119.

[2] B.R. Wilson, 'An Analysis of Sect Development,' p. 11f.

> ...won a large number of converts but the cost of doing so was that of bringing in a great many unsocialized persons who had little knowledge of, and in some cases no special interest in, the distinctive teachings of the sect itself.[1]

Wilson goes on to say that because of this the membership of the sect may be only lightly committed to the sect, and rather volatile in nature.[2] This does not contribute to the ability of the sect to maintain its original nature and emphases.

A second factor lying behind the institutionalization which some sects experience is psychological in nature. Stark says,

> The reason lies in the very nature of the phenomenon of sectarianism, not in a secondary feature like the change of the names on the membership roll. Cool words cannot convey the heat of the sectarian mentality, yet without realizing its intensity we cannot possibly hope to understand why it does not last. The tension simply cannot be continued for long: the conflict of the sect with society must be solved somehow, for it is an acute crisis which cannot be turned into a lasting state.[3]

Stark proceeds, asserting that once the sect realizes

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[1]B.R. Wilson, Religion in Secular Society, p. 206.

[2]B.R. Wilson, Religion in Secular Society, p. 206.

[3]Stark , p. 234f.

that the Parousia is not going to occur immediately it must make a decision either to withdraw from the world or to find a way to live with it. For those sects which choose the latter, the progress towards church status has begun.

While Stark seems to have laid his finger on an important feature of sect development, it must be acknowledged that this tension between the sect and society is of greater magnitude in the case of some sects than in the case of others. It would be intense for the revolutionist sect, but much less so for the manipulationist sect.

It has also been suggested that institutionalization is sometimes prompted by the sect's wish to preserve for subsequent generations the new or rediscovered truth around which it is built. M. Weber talks about this issue in terms of a movement from prophecy to magical, sacramental ritualism.[1] He traces the process as follows: the Prophet[3] tries to break from ritualism

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[1] Weber, p. 78.

[2] See Weber's discussion of the Prophet, p. 46ff.

and to establish life on ultimate ethical principles, and the laity accepts him for the miracles he performs. However, Weber insists, if the prophet is going to have continued influence in the lives of his followers, he must become the object of a cult. Therefore, the break from what could be called a 'churchlike' group ultimately leads to another 'churchlike' group.

Niebuhr picks up this idea, saying that the institution which grows up around a sect's ideals cannot maintain an identity with the sect.[1] The emergent institution looks backwards towards its infancy when it was a sect, and it places its emphasis upon what it achieved then. On the other hand, while this movement was a sect, it looked forwards and was creative in its thinking and acting, developing new practices and ideas or refurbishing old ones. The mission of the sect was to proclaim; the task of the institution is to preserve.

Furthermore, in order to preserve the sect's insights, the institution must boil these insights

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[1]Niebuhr, The Kingdom of God in America, p. 168f.

down and force them into words and formulae: it is inevitable that something of the vitality of the sect should be lost in the process. The efforts to preserve unchanged the life and the insights of the sect are doomed to failure.

Of course, this consideration would not be equally crucial to all types of sects. It would be particularly important to sects of the type called 'conversionist', sects which grew out of highly-charged emotional experiences. A sect for which subjective, emotional experiences are central and distinctive stands to lose a great deal in the attempt to reduce what is essential to formulae: such experiences are not readily conceptualized.

The children of sectarians are also put forward as agents of institutionalization. On one hand, their arrival forces the sect to give its attention to the matter of education so that the children will grow to understand and to appreciate the values of the sect. On the other hand there is the question of moral standards. Provided that they belong to a sect which has chosen to live in society, parents will feel an

obligation to devise some sort of moral standard, consistent with the principles of the sect, by which their children can be guided.[1] However, as they contact society, at school and elsewhere, the children of sect members will feel its attraction very strongly, and eventually will attempt to hammer out a way in which to live at peace with both parents and peers. This, thinks Stark, is "...one of the most potent causes of sect decay...."[2] Wilson makes a contribution to this discussion by pointing out that whether or not the children of sect members stay in the sect is a greater problem for conversionist sects which place emphasis upon the individual's acknowledgement of a Saviour than for other types of sects which embrace whole families.[3]

The final factor which will be mentioned as bringing about the institutionalization of a sect

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[1]Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 19.

[2]Stark, p. 285.

[3]B.R. Wilson, 'An analysis of Sect Development,' p.11.

is economic success. Stark believes that this is a key factor, and says, "...: to the extent that economic conditions improve sectarian attitudes decay."[1] On the basis of his study carried out in Gastonia County, North Carolina, L.Pope concludes regarding sect development -

> Its position on the scale of transition from sect to Church follows closely after the economic fortunes of its more influential members; its religious character changes as the economic status of its leaders improves.[2]

Troeltsch also acknowledges that economic factors play a large part in the metamorphosis of a sect.[3] And furthermore, it would seem as though the economic success which some sectarians know is not to be regarded as accidental. Again we turn to Stark and we hear him saying,

> And the improvement of economic conditions among the members of a sect is not an outer, accidental and adventitious process,...it is an inner, essential and self-generated transformation which nearly all dissenting groups have evinced

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[1]Stark, p. 267.

[2]Pope, p. 120.

[3]Troeltsch, II, 806.

> in remarkable independence of the economic history unfolding around them, in independence even of the gyration of the trade cycle. There is something in sectarianism itself which leads - via worldly success - to decay of sectarianism.[1]

This "something" about which he has spoken, Stark later says, is made up of the sectarian virtues of self-confidence, hard work, and reliability.[2]

It seems that all of these factors are applicable when one is trying to explain institutionalization as it appeared in the pre-Nicene Church. The Church was strongly marked by a desire to convert those with whom it came in contact; there is reason to suppose that psychological pressure resulting from the tension between the Early Church and the rest of society did exist; the Church did try to preserve the teaching of Jesus and the Apostles; children who had to be cared for did appear, and at least some of the members of the Church did experience economic improvement. Therefore, causes which have been put forward to account for the experiences of certain modern sects are also to be found in the Church of the first three centuries of our

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[1]Stark, p. 267

[2]Stark, p. 282

era.

Historical causation is a slippery concept[1] and in any given historical context it is difficult to establish with complete accuracy. We have reviewed some of the causes which have brought about the process of institutionalization in various religious groups. We have also seen that these causes seem to have stood behind this process as it occurred in the Early Church. In this case, it seems to be impossible to show that any one of the causes mentioned was the cause of the experience of the Early Church, and it would be problematic in the extreme to try to say which causes were more important than others. Perhaps the best we can do is say that these are some of the causes which stood behind the process of institutionalization as it was experienced by the pre-Nicene Church.

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[1] For discussions of historical causation see J. Barzun and H. Graff, The Modern Researcher (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1957), M. White, Foundations of Historical Knowledge (New York and London: Harper & Row, 1965), H. Fain, 'History as Science,' History and Theory 9, 2(1970)143-173, and D.H. Fischer, Historians' Fallacies (New York: Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, 1970).

It was suggested above[1] that the causes of the institutionalization observable in the Early Church were also the causes of the several features of that process. If this is acceptable, then it can be said that the causes which we reviewed above were also the causes which resulted in the decline of the charismata in the pre-Nicene Church.

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[1]See p. 430 above.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has focused upon a particular type of spiritual experience which was known in the NT Church, namely, overt pneumatic, or charismatic experience. It was seen that most of the material in the NT relevant to this study is to be found in the books traditionally attributed to Luke and to Paul. The writings of these men, with the support of a few of the other books., showed that the charismata were important in a large part of the primitive Church.

Having examined the charismatic experience of the NT Church, attention was turned to the documents which make up the source material for a history of the Pre-Nicene Church in an attempt to see how the charismatic experience of the NT Church was carried over into the Church of the subsequent period prior to 320 A.D. In Part II, which is made up of an examination of pre-Nicene evidence of charismatic activity, it was argued that the charismata continued to be an important part of the life of the Church throughout the second century and into the

third. However, in the early decades of the third century the charismata began to decline in importance and eventually dropped from sight c. 260 A.D.

Part III dealt with the question: why did the charismata eventually disappear from the life of the Church? It was argued that this happened as a part of the process of institutionalization which the Early Church experienced. It was also argued that the causes of this process, which are psychological, spiritual, social, and economic in nature, were also the causes of the decline of the charismata.

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